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ABSTRACT

This is a comparative study of university control in Sweden and the United States with particular attention to the question of what difference it makes as to which segment of the university community controls a particular aspect of university life and university function. It is an exploration of the problem of the relationship between the structure and content of an institution and the interests of those who control the institution. The first part of the study is a survey and analysis of the views and ideology of governing board members of major U.S. universities. This is compared in the second part with the views and ideology of the central administrators of the Swedish university system in the Ministry of Education and the Chancellory. The last sections compare the respective functions of U.S. faculty and students with Swedish faculty and students in their structural organizational capacities to influence policy at the university. While the Swedish model of student participation, organization, and control are suggested in modified version for the American audience, the U.S. version of departmental or institute diversification among faculty, both in substantive areas and in administrative control, is suggested for the Swedish audience. (Author/HS)

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AIMS AND CONTROL OF THE UNIVERSITIES:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ACADEMIC GOVERNANCE IN SWEDEN AND THE UNITED STATES

TROY DUSTER

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December 72

This is a comparative study of university control in Sweden and the United States with particular attention to the question of what difference it makes which segment of the university community controls a particular aspect of university life and university function. It is an exploration of the problem of the relationship between the structure and content (operation) of an institution (the university) and the interests of those who control that institution.

At the most general level, the problem involved in this research is to study the way in which differing educational objectives in Western technological society get translated into the structuring and administration of higher education. The first hypothesis is that educational aims vary even between technologically advanced societies. The second hypothesis is that those aims are reflected in and implemented by the structuring and administration of educational institutions. The third hypothesis is that these structures therefore co-vary with the educational goals.

The more specific focus of this problem of educational aims and their achievement is the realm of higher education. There, the problem is peculiar to highly specialized societies, where men continue their formal training in an attempt to achieve greater expertise in the performance of later roles. This very specialization has led some to conclude that all societies that undergo technological advance, face the same socialization problems. Thus it is argued that the differences between the socialization processes in, say, England and Germany become less and less, due to the fact that the two countries must confront the same kinds of technological training problems. However, the degree to which this is true is an empirical matter, and can only be answered by a study of the problem. The primary question is: To what extent does the United States administer a system of higher education that is distinctive in achieving its own goals, and to what extent is it simply caught up in the sweep of technological change and advance which mutes the differences between Western societies and underscores the similarities?

In the United States, immediate control over higher education rests with an administrative body separate from faculty and students. The administration is responsible to the chief administrative officer and, ultimately, to a board of laymen from the "community."

The first part of the study is a survey and analysis of the views and ideology of govering board members of major U.S. universities. This is compared in the second part with the views and ideology of the central administrators of the Swedish university system in the centralized Ministry of Education and the Chancellory. The last sections compare the respective functions of U.S. faculty and students with Swedish faculty and students in their structural and organizational capacities to influence policy at the university. While the Swedish model of student participation, organization, and control are suggested in modified version for the American audience (at a regional or state level), the U.S. version of departmental or institute diversification among faculty, both in substantive areas and in administrative control, is suggested for the Swedish audience.

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AIMS AND CONTROL OF THE UNIVERSITIES.
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PREFACE

In the last two decades, comparative research has been in vogue in American social science. Several new journals of comparative scholarship have emerged, and scores of anthologies have appeared with ethnographies and analyses of other cultures and other societies (Eisenstadt, 1968; Havighurst, 1968; Rose, 1958). Yet even the most cursory review of the literature of comparative social science reveals a remarkable pattern: the task of making comparisons is left to the reader. It is the reader's burden, not the burden of the writer. Comparative researchers typically report and analyze their work on other societies and leave it at that. If it is an American sociologist or anthropologist reporting, there may be occasional statements about how things are done differently from the way they are done in the United States, but these are hardly systematic comparisons of specific institutions or communities, chosen for the purpose of highlighting a theoretical or empirical problem that can be thrown into greater relief by the comparative technique.

In the common sense world, comparison implies that you have at least two things in hand and look back and forth from one to the

other. Not so in social science, where the practice has been just to go "over there" and look.

In this book, I shall make an attempt at common sense cultural comparisons. I want to take specific institutions of higher education in two different societies--Sweden and the United States--and look back and forth from one to the other. I shall try to make explicit what appear to me to be the major differences and points of comparison, and then try to answer the difficult question of why these differences exist. Whatever the degree of success or failure in my attempt, I am persuaded that it is worth the effort if the study is to become truly comparative. The burden is upon the researcher and writer to compare the two situations and to risk explanations. Critics, reviewers, and lay readers will thus have an opportunity to evaluate the book on the basis of how good or how bad it is as comparative research. (If a researcher claims to be doing survey research, but instead comes up with an intensive case study, we are left wondering what the criteria of evaluation are to be. We might call it bad survey research, but it might be a good case study.)

My primary concern, however, is not terminological clarity--i.e., correcting the inappropriate use of the word "comparative." The more important issue is an attempt to demonstrate the analytic fruitfulness of really comparative research. It is my contention that there are unique analytic rewards to be obtained from observing two different societies for the single purpose of explaining their differences.

The comparison of parallel institutions in different cultures forces the analyst to confront directly and explicitly important questions that can be left implicit or ignored in ordinary circumstances. For example, in studying a problem within a single culture, there are traditional (cultural) ways of proceeding to isolate particular variables to explain what is being studied. Because such variables have always been used, the researcher usually takes them for granted, perhaps paying lip service to the conventional wisdom in a footnote. He may even neglect to tell himself why he is actually isolating those particular variables. But in doing so, he loses the potential for enlarging and enriching the scope of his analysis, for he is then unable to perceive alternative choices in concepts and thus cannot rearrange or reformulate. In comparative work, the demands of the task produce this enlargement of scope and choice without any necessary reliance upon the inventiveness and imagination of the researcher. For instance, we usually begin to answer the question of why college students in the United States have no authority in educational policy by listing such influences as tradition, age, in loco parentis, faculty conservatism, apathy, etc. But when we observe that such a situation did not develop in Sweden, where the student union is powerful, and where many of these influences exist, we are pushed to begin to ask the explanatory worth of these variables.

In this book, my concern is with "aims" and "control" of the universities, and it is difficult to bring the discussion of such a subject directly to an empirical level. Unless one assumes complete

homogeneity, there are many aims or goals, and which aims one supports very much depends upon where one is placed in the social order. Surely students view the aims of higher education differently from the way corporation executives do--and they, in turn, view them differently from members of the clergy, or labor, or the faculty, or faculty wives. Once again, the task is made easier by the comparative method, for one can point to clear differences as the basis for extrapolation about aims in the larger sense. Here is a modest example:

In Sweden, it is common for men of all stations to refuse to drink alcohol if they must drive cars soon after. This practice is a source of continual surprise to American visitors. But the reason for the behavior of the Swedes is easy to understand: there is quick and uniform punishment of men of all social classes for drunken driving--imprisonment. In America, the imprisonment of a wealthy and influential businessman, a nationally known entertainer, or a prominent physician for anything less than a felony is almost unheard of. American society is so riddled with the idea of special treatment for the privileged that the public itself would be shocked, and some members even offended, by the imprisonment of a so-called respectable man for a mere misdemeanor. Yet the Swedes tell weekly tales, all true, about very famous or respectable persons who have been jailed for drunken driving.

By adding some substance and texture, it would be possible to extrapolate this specific condition into a discussion about the aims of the respective American and Swedish legal institutions and their

control over various parts of the population. The problem is more convincingly stated, however, by amplifying the substance than by attempting elaborate extrapolation, and this is the goal which seems most worth pursuing in a comparison of aims and control in higher education in Sweden and the United States.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the evolution of ideas about the aims of the university, there is increasing convergence around the theme that institutions of higher learning should connect directly and pragmatically with the conditions of the culture in which they exist. To the extent that this is true, we have come full circle back to the point where the university in Western civilization began in the thirteenth century. The University of Salerno, the first established in the West, opened over 700 years ago in order to train men for the practice of medicine. Other early European universities were established in order to provide specific services, but by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, university training in some cases had become stylized to the point where the acquisition of style itself was seen as an end. One aim of the college, for example, was to produce the polished and cultivated "gentleman" by prescribed means. In modern times, the argument for classical and prescribed learning, presumably independent of the culture in which it exists, holds that the mind so cultivated can turn to any number of problems and handle them with equal facility. It was

assumed early in the development of eighteenth century universities that reading Plato and Cicero in the original Greek and Latin could achieve this purpose better than any other. It soon came to be taken for granted that no other form of education could achieve this purpose.

Thus, as Eric Ashby (1964) has pointed out, England could export its system of higher education to other lands, from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, fully convinced that the best thing for India, Africa, America, or any land was the established method at the colleges then existent in England. In the beginning, many nations--which had, after all, been English colonies--attempted to swallow the English model of Oxford uncritically and, as it turned out, undigestibly. It is one thing to train Englishmen for positions in a society where the economy has a tertiary base of trading, commerce, and services, with a colonial empire to administer; to train these men as "gentlemen" and cultivated civil servants was perhaps appropriate for the British Empire. But it is quite another thing, both irrelevant and inappropriate, to train men for bureaucratic and administrative posts where the economic base is agrarian and where increasing technological development demands a corps of men with technological knowledge to develop the productive capacity of the economy. Ashby writes:

> [But] the African intellectual, educated in London or Cambridge or Manchester, would have been indignant at any <u>softening</u> of standards, any substitution of easier options, any cheapened version of higher education . . . . The African wanted a replica of the British university at its best [p. 22, italics added].

These new African universities in the twentieth century, Ashby says,

> bore the unmistakable image of their British origin. Some of this was superficial, a social mimicry of the fripperies of British academic life: gowns, high tables, grace read by a scholar, assembly in combination rooms after dinner with port assiduously passed in the proper direction. But the imported pattern was not just a veneer, it permeated the whole institution [pp. 22-23].

Perhaps the point is best illustrated by what happened in medical education at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. Students in the medical school there in the 1950s, instead of following medical training designed to meet the needs of Nigerians, received training as if they were going to practice medicine in a population with a low infant mortality rate (Ashby, 1964). The curriculum danced merrily on toward greater specialization while the whole of preventive medicine was virtually ignored. This situation resulted from the failure to make a distinction between the technical and service training functions and the intellectual functions of the university. In the West, there is an increasing tendency to merge these two functions on one set of campus grounds, to the dismay of some educators. If the African universities had made the critical distinction, they would not have found themselves in the position of training men for nonexistent problems while neglecting to train them for economic, social, political, physical, legal, and medical realities.

This is not to suggest that the traditional university as an intellectual center, examining critically the aims and goals of the society and of men, should not have received primary support and

emphasis. Perhaps it should have been given first priority. However, at the University of Ibadan it was felt that the training of technicians and engineers to deal with the practical problems of the society would somehow "water down" the university. Had the separation of the two functions been clearly made, some Africans would not have been so hypersensitive to "contaminating" their higher education with mere technical studies. They could have erected parallel institutes, one to deal critically and analytically with the aims of action, the other to deal with mobilizing men to action. They could have called one a university, the other a technological institute. The model existed in every Western European country, and even to some extent in the United States (the Massachusetts and California Institutes of Technology, for example).

With such a development, it would be more possible to articulate the needs of the society (seen internally) with the training given to men who are to work in that society. Medical students could thus be trained to deal with indigenous medical problems without doing violence to the standing of the intellectual center, the university. Engineers could be trained to deal with problems that are regarded as elementary in technologically advanced societies without threatening the integrity of the whole educational or intellectual processes of the society. But there is a blurring of the distinction between the university and technology in the West that created in technologically developing countries a fear that their lower level of technology meant a lower level of university or intellectual life.

It is true that any technologically developing country will have a need for a different kind of technological instruction than the more highly technologically developed Western nations, but this need does not necessarily have to affect the level of intellectual life at a university. The intellectual center, the university, can emphasize the humanistic fields, the liberal arts, and the social sciences without in any sense being "watered down."

Now newly emerging nations are beginning to move in a different direction, governmental authorities and students realizing more and more that their systems of higher education should better adapt to indigenous problems and internally set goals. The more they do so, the more pressure they generate to change the structure of the educational system to correspond to the realization of those aims. That is the major thesis of this work. The subjects are Sweden and the United States, not Africa and England, and accordingly, the differences between countries will not be as great. But the principle underlying the comparative analysis is the same.

In crosscultural comparative analysis there are unavoidable problems, one of which arises from internal variation and heterogeneity within any given country. How can one compare American universities with those of Sweden when there are so many different kinds of universities and colleges within the United States? The heterogeneity of American higher education has allowed many commentators to become preoccupied with it to the point of missing its parallels, similarities, themes and patterns. But it is possible to

turn that heterogeneity into a useful tool. The value of a comparative analysis is that it literally forces the analyst to disregard internal heterogeneity for the purpose of making broader comparative observations. One can readily acknowledge the internal variations and even admit to the sacrifice of detailed accuracy for the sake of taking the broader view, because in that sacrifice there is something important to be gained. While there is no true system of higher education in the United States coordinated by a central authority, no set of universal criteria for faculty appointments, and no standardized curricular guidelines, there are a number of similarities between American colleges and universities which come into focus only when we become comparative.

FRAMEWORK AND PURPOSES

There is a tendency among those social scientists who consciously and explicitly practice "functional analysis" to conveniently ignore an important theoretical and empirical problem in the study of institutions. One of the postulates of functionalism is: If there is a <u>required</u> function to be performed, some segment or element will arise to perform that function. Ignoring the tautology in this postulate, we can see how this conceptualization of the problem has turned attention away from the issue of whether the way in which the function is performed is at all similar under element A, B, or C--or indeed whether it is at all the same function when variously performed by A, B, or C. Further, so long as behavioral scientists study only

institutions with the same cultural base, the best they can do is tentatively posit "functional alternatives" and speculate about how such functions might operate under differing cultural circumstances. This is hardly the way to make an empirical test, and it is not surprising that the empirical basis for the discussion of functional alternatives is notably sketchy.

One of the purposes of this book, then, is to explore the problem of the relationship between the structure and content (operations) of an institution and the interests of those who control that institution.

A fear often voiced by American educators who want to minimize the authority of students in educational policy has to do with the model of the Latin American universities. It is argued that to allow the polarization of the university into explicit conflicting parties with explicitly conflicting interests is to invite the kind of "anarchistic" educational system that appears in Latin American universities.

Either American educators are ignorant of any other model of a politicized university system (e.g., Sweden), or they are aware of it but choose to ignore it. They assume prima facie that legitimate student participation in high-level decisions about university policy will undermine the required authority of the faculty on curriculum matters. While it is true that highly politicized universities in Latin America witness student strikes when material is presented to the students in a way unacceptable to them, it is an unwarranted

conclusion that this is an inevitable outcome of student power. Indeed, "student power," like "black power," has become a political shibboleth uncritically responded to in the United States. Rather than entertain the term's possible variations, political advocates charge that one undesirable variant is the most likely development, and some even say it is the only possible one.

The "developmental" aspects of the research are hereby made explicit at the outset. Still another purpose of this book is to provide, descriptively and analytically, an alternative model of viable student participation in university governance.

Anthropology deals routinely with how whole tribes or whole cultures socialize their young to achieve the broadest cultural objectives, but the technological complexities of Western societies have led sociologists to study socialization on a less grandiose level. The broad economic and social heterogeneity of modern society has made it difficult for the social scientist to focus upon the encompassing issues when he embarks upon his research. The sociology of education, for example, has left educational aims on the scale of a society relatively unexplored. Yet, it may be possible to add to an understanding of educational institutions as whole systems if they are approached for study in a manner that allows a large analytical grasp. One is led inevitably to assume such a posture when making crosscultural comparisons of systems of education.

At the most general level, the problem involved in this research is to study the way in which differing educational objectives in

Western technological society get translated into the structuring and administration of higher education. The first hypothesis is that educational aims vary even between technologically advanced societies. The second hypothesis is that those aims are reflected in and implemented by the structuring and administration of educational institutions. The third hypothesis is that these structures therefore co-vary with the educational goals.

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In the United States, immediate control over higher education

rests with an administrative body separate from faculty and students.* The administration is responsible to the chief administrative officer and, ultimately, to a board of laymen from the "community." The first part of this research is a study of administrative ideology among governing board members at more than 30 prominent American universities. This research material forms the first basis for a crosscultural comparison with the data collected in Sweden on higher educational control during the academic year 1966-67.

THE CHOICE OF SWEDEN

Sweden has been chosen as the subject country for comparison with the United States for several reasons:

· By most measures that economists and sociologists use, Sweden is the European nation closest to the United States in technological advancement and standard of living. As a result, it is possible to make assessments as to what differences between the two nations are primarily cultural as opposed to those dictated by the requirements of the nature of modern technological society. There is some evidence to indicate that the strong ideological commitment of the Social Democratic Party to political-economic equality has combined with the requirements of technological advance to effect a

*Although I recognize the influence of state planning boards, state coordinating agencies, and federal associations of universities in directing the course of higher education in the United States, I have not included them in this study. My focus is upon the universities and the larger society.

change in traditional Swedish education.

. Swedish education is presently undergoing considerable change. For example, there is a shift in higher education from the older function of training the elite for the professions and academic life to an opening up of these channels to the working classes.

. The administrative structure of Swedish higher education differs markedly from that of the United States; it has no central body of administrators on the campus composed of men who are not also academic men. Who educates in a specialized society greatly influences the realization of aims, and this fusion of the professor-administrator-policymaker provides an interesting contrast for a study of goals.

In the United States, administrators and faculty sometimes consciously align themselves on respective sides, and the stronger element determines the character of the institution. The antithetical posture of faculty versus administration has been viewed primarily as an issue internal to a given institution or, at its broadest, an internal issue in American higher education. College X is said to have a strong faculty, while College Y's administrative deans make policy decisions without even consulting the faculty. For the purpose of trying to better understand the realization of the larger educational aims, it may be fruitful to treat the juxtaposition of two possible centers of power as a distinctively American phenomenon with distinct consequences, contrasting it with the style of resolution within the other society, Sweden. For example, to what extent do the educational

aims of administrators and faculty differ when the roles are split? If they diverge markedly, when they are combined in a single individual, is there a pattern that would indicate how one commitment tends to override another?

Sweden has only five universities. They are located in Stockholm, Lund, Gothenburg, Uppsala, and Umeå in the north. Professional schools of law and medicine are separate institutions. The administration of education is the responsibility of one of the ministries of government. In a line organization of this administration, next to the Ministry of Higher Education are the five university presidents. However, unlike the American situation, there is no board of laymen from the community to exercise administrative control. There is no trustee or regential system. There is no separate administrative power center where specialists outside of the academic line organization make policy decisions. Instead, the professors or "chairs" of various departments meet in a kind of council to determine the sorts of selected policy matters usually left to administrative deans in the United States.

Uppsala University is one of the oldest institutions of higher education in the world, founded in the late fifteenth century. Stockholm and Umeå universities were only recently founded, and they provide interesting contrasts as institutions developed to fulfill contemporary needs.

Sweden has one of the most methodical systems of document preservation in the world. Field work in Sweden provides excellent

comparative material for a discussion of various educational aims and their relationship to stated objectives, actual control policy, and organizational structure.

NATURAL ALLIANCES AT THE UNIVERSITIES: SWEDEN VS. THE UNITED STATES

In the last few decades (1940-70), activist students and faculty in major American universities have found themselves in natural alliance against university boards of governors and the boards' emissaries on the campuses, the chief administrators. The point of conflict has often been over the attempt to control political activity at the university--withdrawal of permission for speakers to appear on the campus (the exclusion of leftist or black militant speakers, for example) or the firing of instructors because of their political behavior. In addition, conflict may have been engendered by administration attempts at _in loco parentis_, in which deans have tried to enforce such things as house rules and hours for visits between men and women.

In both kinds of instances, political and "parental," faculty have been quite likely to support students against administrators. This fact is partly to be explained by the nature of the governing boards, who (as we shall see) primarily represent the dominant and conservative economic interests in the form of rich and successful businessmen. The liberal faculty and the committed students could stand together--and frequently have--against the administration and the board, admonishing them for violations of academic freedom. On

parental matters, faculty members could also easily align themselves with students in support of a demand for greater autonomy in the governing of their private lives.

Thus, the perceived enemy for the students and faculty has been visible, common, and active in curtailing the freedoms (political and social) of both. This has been the dominant trend and the natural alliance for the last 30 years. There are, of course, systematic interest conflicts between American faculty and students, but only since 1965 have these begun to surface to the extent that they impede the natural alliance against what is still regarded as a more oppressive enemy. In a later section I will explore in greater detail the nature of the interest conflict, and I will suggest that it will grow larger in the coming years. Nonetheless, for the period under discussion and for the present, American faculty and students are more frequently allies than enemies when it comes to dealing with the administration and the board of governors.

In Sweden, the natural alliance is between the students and the administration (the government, the Ministry of Education, and the Chancellory) against the professors. First, there is no issue of in loco parentis, so the students do not feel oppressed in their personal and social lives by a central administration that is obsessively concerned with the hours they keep, visiting patterns, and the angle of the crack in the door during visits from members of the opposite sex. Swedish students are generally a little older than American students, and they have much greater control of their personal lives. Thus, one

of the important grounds upon which American college students see the administrator as an oppressive enemy is totally absent in Sweden.

Second, and equally important, political conservatism is more associated with the professors than with the government. Swedish professors tend to come from the higher and more conservative social classes than do government ministers and Chancellors of Education, who are civil servants drawn from the ranks of the leftist Social Democratic Party. Swedish student activists who want more liberal or progressive changes in their university, community, or country are therefore more likely to find a sympathetic political ear in the government than among their professors.

This difference between Swedish and American students has some significant consequences for both the strategies employed and the ability to have some influence over things that matter to students in the two countries. For Swedish students, the adversary is within the confines of the academic arena. The professor can be observed at close hand, and the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of certain attempts to produce change are seen in a much more immediate and sensate way than in the United States. For American students, adversaries are always several steps removed in a massive bureaucracy. The low-level administrator simply tells you that he is doing his job, and as one climbs the ladder the refrain is similar; even the president can legally argue that he is simply carrying out the will of the board that hired him. The alliance with the faculty is usually unsatisfactory and unsuccessful, for the faculty has no more

immediate access to decisionmaking than the students. The balance of power is heavily weighted in one direction: the board and the administration. In fact, in law, it is often the case that the American governing board has complete authority that it delegates to various parties on the campus. Such a delegation of authority can be rescinded at any time, as in the recent (1969) case at the University of California, where the regents returned to themselves the authority to make tenured appointments to the faculty.

These are the kinds of comparisons that force the analysis to a level and scope from which a broader understanding of the larger issues in the aims and control of higher education is a very likely outcome.

STRATEGY OF PRESENTATION

Chapter II of this book contains a description and analysis of the formal structure of governance at the apex of the pyramid in American universities and includes a study of members of boards of governors. It is followed in Chapter III, by a parallel study of the top of the Swedish university governance structure. The Ministry of Education and the Chancellory in Sweden are contrasted with the American situation with respect to spheres of power and control, and particular interest is paid to the identification of interests, the balance and change of power, and the strategy of accommodation. The roles of the faculties in governance are contrasted in the two countries. There is a first-hand report of an empirical study of Swedish

professors, and other comparative material culled from a variety of secondary sources. The theme running throughout these comparisons remains constant: the attempt to isolate the difference it makes whether the faculty, the administration, or the students govern a specific segment of the university.

Chapter IV contains an empirical study of student participation in governance in Sweden and presents alternative Swedish models for student participation. The role of American students in governance (or lack of it) is set as a backdrop for the discussion, and structural differences between the two university systems which seem to emerge from the differing roles of students in governance are highlighted.

Chapter V presents conclusions drawn from the comparative study and shows the consequences of differences that can be anticipated when elements or parties with interests which are not identical control segments of an institution.

CHAPTER II

FORMAL CONTROL AND GOVERNANCE IN MAJOR U. S. UNIVERSITIES

Ever since the late 1720s, when a group of wealthy Boston merchants wrested control of Harvard from the clergy, boards of laymen from the community have retained the power to direct the course of American higher education. At the outset, the great majority of the faculty were clergymen, just as the governing board had been. Although the colonial colleges had as their official purposes both the training of the clergy and the education of lay leaders, there was a natural bias in the realization of aims. But it was this ability to realize different goals that impelled the businessmen to seize control and accelerate the already established trend of secularizing higher learning (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958, pp. 6-21). Their coming to power reflected the spirit of the increasingly secular times. Other colleges followed Harvard's example, and laymen from the community became the high policymakers in almost every major college by the end of the eighteenth century.

American institutions of higher learning are so diverse

that it is impossible to speak of an American system of higher education. This situation can act to blind one to those features which are common themes and general patterns even though they are not universal. An attempt to get an overview of the issues of power and the location of control reveals general patterns that must be investigated if one is to comprehend the nature of diversification itself.

In the United States, the governing board of the college developed, in time, to a position of uncontested power, extensive and final. The faculty never really gave serious battle in a struggle for control. The American faculty has never moved into a position to assert itself on the larger issues of goals and survival, nor indeed even on matters of expansion, development, and the nature of their institutions (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958; Kirkpatrick, 1931; Miller, 1939; Morison, 1936). The exceptions are remarkable exceptions, and they do not represent the general pattern of control and influence in the country.

When Marshall's Supreme Court declared in 1819 that colleges could be private concerns independent of public control, the board's power was rendered not even subject to public review. This decision led to a reaction and the establishment of the many public universities which could be directly controlled by the government. However, then as now, these new institutions held the old established and prestigious private colleges as

their model and ideal. It was inevitable that they would emulate the structure of the "governing board of laymen" in control. Instead of developing a state ministry of education, the land-grant colleges and the state universities set up boards of governors selected with almost the same criteria as those used at the private colleges and invested them with a similar kind of authority. It must be noted that the decision to avoid a centralized ministry of education was not based upon the belief that the college should be free and independent of public control. Indeed, the public colleges developed precisely because of the strong impetus to have public control of the colleges. Thomas Jefferson, perhaps the prime mover at the University of Virginia, was a firm advocate of such public control. He and those who took his position never made the same argument for the separation of school and state as for the separation of church and state. The integration of the former was for them as much a protector of basic freedom as was the separation of the latter (Richardson, 1932).

Harvard was not the innovator of the idea of a governing board of laymen. Harvard had begun upon a model of the English colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, where ecclesiastical control had been firm for centuries. But the Scottish universities of the seventeenth century had established the immediate precedent, and William and Mary College was the first in the United States

to have prominent laymen in control. Still, it was not until Harvard shifted that others followed suit, establishing a pattern in higher education.

So long as the aims of higher learning were more sacred than secular, so long as the college could pronounce that the student "considered the main End of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is Eternal life [Brubacher & Rudy, 1958, p. 8]," governing board of clergymen served an important logical function. They could and did act as overseers in a line organization that held the clerical faculty and students in doctrinaire check. When the primary expressed purpose of a college is to learn to serve God in a manner governed by prescribed belief systems, then an organizational hierarchy controlled by men at the top, who are believed to have special competence in the matter at hand, makes logical and common sense. However, when the clergy lost control of the governing boards, and when the faculty gained more and more academic freedom to pursue learning independent of the proscriptions of dogma, the authority of the governing boards took on an entirely different meaning.

Whereas the clerically controlled governing board could claim its particular competence to deal with the religious aims and purposes of the college as they were then conceived, laymen by definition have no such special competence to deal with the

unencumbered pursuit of knowledge. This fact had been pointed out often enough by nineteenth-century critics, but the most lucid analysis came from Thorstein Veblen at the beginning of the present century. Veblen (1957, pp. 43-61) concluded that America's faith in the success and great wealth of business is a reflection of generic wisdom and explains the uncritical acceptance of businessmen as the controllers of education. Veblen noted that while business acumen might have played a role in the business side of the university, it is in fact the administrative office on the campus which handles all such matters.

Stripped as he was in the eighteenth century of any formal control over the college, the twentieth-century faculty man has done little more than grumble about his inability to assume a more authoritative position on matters relating to the destiny of his institution. He has registered his complaints through some intermediary to the authority he has come to accept--the governing board. With neither tradition nor the law behind him, he has lapsed into indifference or into the escapism of professionalism about the control issue, rejecting out of hand the possibility of a united confrontation with the board.

This situation is in sharp contrast to the faculty situations of other nations, where faculties usually have

powerful voices in higher education. To give just one example: In the early 1960s, every one of the then-existing seven academic senates of the seven campuses of the University of California voted against conversion to the quarter system. Whether they were right or wrong is not the issue here; the point is that the administration instituted the quarter system without so much as a major skirmish with the faculty. In contrast, Sweden, with the National Ministry of Education and formal government control over the educational system, must always take into account the possibility of strong reaction and rebuttal from its faculties.

In the summer of 1966, the Swedish faculties at various levels of instruction, including the universities, were informed that they would have increased pay with changed working conditions. The faculties' union organization objected to the conditions, asked for more money, and executed a point strike in four critical disciplines in the fall of that year (Dagens Nyheter, 1966, p. 1). Aiming at only four fields, the union could afford to continue the strike for a long period because it had a large six-million-dollar fund with which to pay the strikers' salaries. The government was forced to retaliate with a general lockout of all 20,000 instructors in the union, or more than 80 percent of the teaching faculties above the seventh grade. The resulting confrontation matched power

with power, where the union finally called for a general strike of aligned workers, and in the end each side made concessions. Such a struggle would be unexecutable, if not unthinkable, in the United States, where the assumption of power is completely uneven.

In the United States, there is a tendency to minimize the strategic importance of university governing board members on the grounds that they are often little more than rubber-stamp functionaries far removed from campus life. While it is true that most of the immediate decisionmaking on the campus is in the hands of the administrative lieutenants of the board (president, dean, registrar, and their staffs), the aims of those who sit on the governing board affect the whole structure of the educational enterprise. These aims are subtle and abstract only when there is no conflict of will between the board and the campus. They become clear and empirically precise in those rare instances when elements on the campus assert themselves against the board. Because these instances are so infrequent, it is easy to make the mistake of assuming that the board is limited in its ability to influence the intellectual climate of a university. One illustration can be found in the board's power to control the expression of ideas on the campus through the restriction of speakers. This restriction is often justified on the grounds that the campus is a place of learning

and not political territory. However, this position is remarkably inconsistent, since government officials are often invited to speak on the campus in behalf of government-sponsored interests and ideas which are explicitly political. The campus rostrum is frequently used by politicians, from minor local officials to the President of the United States, as a pulpit for expounding on partisan politics.

A remarkable demonstration of the influence a governing board can have on the climate of a university is provided by the situation at Ohio State University during the years 1950 to 1965. During this period, the Ohio board denied the faculty and students the power to decide whom they might listen to on the campus by giving the administration complete veto authority, which was exercised in a series of important decisions (Atlantic Monthly, November, 1965; Ohio State University Monthly, May, June and July, 1965). Despite the fact that the American Association of University Professors had placed Ohio State on its Censured List in the late 1950s (for its treatment of faculty appointments), the board approved the following rule concerning speakers:

> When seeking to bring a guest speaker onto the campus, the student group must first obtain the approval of its faculty or staff advisor. Then, before it invites the speaker or announces the meeting, it must request permission for a University auditorium from the Executive Dean, Special Services. The

> group must state the nature of the proposed meeting and indicate the name of the guest speaker. All of this must be done no later than two weeks prior to the proposed meeting date--a time requirement that can be waived only by the President of the University. Once the name of a speaker has been submitted, the Administration's power of review starts [Ohio State University Monthly, July, 1965, pp. 6-7].

The affront to free and open expression reached such a point in the early 1960s that the liberal arts faculty finally united to raise serious objection, and one member of the board told the faculty that if they did not like the situation, they could leave; a score or so did. However, when the liberalization of the rule occurred in 1965, it was as much attributable to the massive student protest and demonstrations as to faculty dissatisfaction.

When an incident produced a showdown between the faculty and the administration concerning the power to approve speakers, the central on-campus liberal arts faculty stood up against the president. When a meeting was called to discuss the matter, however, it was attended by hundreds of part-time faculty in fields that ranged from dentistry to agricultural extension; outnumbering the full-time on-campus faculty, they supported the idea that the administration should retain its power. The view prevailed until the Ohio State students took the battle to the streets in the manner and in the aftermath of the

Berkeley Student Revolt. But even then, the board stood fast for half a year. Only an accidental change in the board's composition for a single day finally brought about the liberalization which is still in effect. But whatever official changes might occur during the next decade at Ohio State University, the climate of the campus will already have been determined, for the most part, by the great difficulties the University will have in recruiting both young and established scholars (Ohio State University Monthly, December, 1965). The Ohio State case is notable primarily because there was open conflict between faculty and administration.

Despite some differences in administration between public and private universities, most have similar structures of control through governing boards. As Kerr (1963) has noted, the federal research grant is producing even greater similarities and, perhaps, a subtle centralization of control for the large, well-known institutions, public and private. State legislatures still appropriate or deny funds for public universities, while alumni, tuition, endowments, and donors provide support for private universities. Although there are some significant developments which result from this difference, the control in both instances resides in private lay citizens who are neither professional educators nor professional administrators. The power invested in governing

boards is extensive, and it has come to be taken for granted. The boards can hire and fire presidents and their administrators and they can hire and fire faculty, directly or indirectly if they choose, for actions which in the judgment of the boards are unbecoming.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND SOCIAL CONTROL

One plausible reason why academic men have not been more concerned with the study of academic freedom is that they may be so engulfed by personal-political issues as to find it difficult to assume an analytic perspective. Or perhaps, even though they may be aware that strategic research into the topic is possible, they may have some aversion to treating themselves and their colleagues as data. For whatever reason, the consequences are unfortunate, because sociologists are somewhat knowledgeable about mechanisms of social control, and on the subject of academic freedom they are aided by the inadvertent participant observation which is built into their situation.

From a sociological viewpoint, academic freedom can be conceived as a threat to an important form of social control in the society. Academic freedom, in practice, allows expression of thought by a moderately respected segment of the community (university professors) that may be alien to commonly held beliefs about the nature of social order. When the clergy held the reins of education, the procedure for control of alien

thought at the universities was forceful, clear, and unashamedly explicit. But when educational control passed to other interests, the academic community was constrained by whatever happened to be the particular belief-systems of the local political-economic scene. For example, Brubacher and Rudy (1958) tell us that in the middle nineteenth century, when the issue in the South was slavery:

> As late as 1830, apparently, it was still possible to speak freely on this issue within Southern academic walls. But toward the end of the antebellum period college presidents and professors put their tenure in jeopardy by taking such liberties [pp. 297-98].

As another example, the latter part of the nineteenth century saw the spread of Darwinian evolutionary theory. In certain communities where the revivalist movement was strong, there was numerous heresy trials for academicians who taught the wrong doctrines. And yet another example: the turn of the century was accompanied by doubts about national allegiance, especially with the approach of the first World War. This question and others concerning commitments to political and economic ideologies of free enterprise determined the intellectual climate and the license of the university instructor at that time. In each of these instances, to express ideas alien to the current beliefs of the surrounding community was to risk dismissal.

Civil liberties must be distinguished from academic freedom. The constitutional evolution of civil rights and liberties had as its purpose the assurance that the individual citizen has free expression without political-criminal reprisal from the state. This notion of the civil liberty of the individual did not extend to the protection of the individual's economic security--to the right to continued employment. That is, whereas a man could not be tried or convicted for expressing his political, social, or economic views, he could certainly be fired from his job by an outraged employer who held dissimilar views.

In Germany, in the late nineteenth century, scholarly research was considered of sufficient importance to the society that the academician was given economic immunity to freely express opinions that were a consequence of his research. A professor could not be relieved of his job because of his expressed ideas. However, the Germans also stipulated that this immunity was not to apply to cases where the scholar moved into contemporary political affairs, and German scholars complied with this one restriction. A very significant historical precedent was set when this freedom was granted. It was important as a statement of the conception of the social role of the scholar.

Economic immunity is thus the first essential of the idea of academic freedom. The civil liberties and civil rights of the

professor are possessed by him in any case, simply by virtue of his being a citizen. The ambiguities, confusion, and uncertainties concerning academic freedom revolve around the question of what is to be allowed under this cloak of economic immunity.

American academics rapidly embraced the German idea of economic immunity, though in most cases their views were shared by neither the university administration nor the general public. But the American scholar not only took over the German notion of academic freedom, he also wished to include freedom of political expression, In the early 1900s, many American academic minds turned to pragmatism. If one could be satisfied only with truths seen in consequence, one could not accept a restriction upon participation in events that shaped the condition of the world.

During the first World War, academic men faced internal and external pressures to define academic freedom more precisely. Harvard's President, A. Lawrence Lowell, submitted a definition widely accepted as a statement of principle but difficult to manage in practice. Lowell said that the university scholar was under the protective cloak of academic freedom so long as he spoke from within his field of specialization, "inside the competence of his chair." The working application was often impossible. In "clear" cases there was no difficulty, such as the physicist's pronouncements on sexual morality. But what

of the borderline cases? What of an economist giving an economic explanation for the development of a certain kind of morality in an affluent consumer society? Who was to decide his competence? His colleagues? Moreover, how far could he extrapolate from his data and still remain within the competency of his chair?

It is possible for us to come to an empirical understanding of the concept of academic freedom for the instructor without becoming embroiled in tedious terminological problems. There is an equally important issue of the academic freedom of the student, but that subject will be addressed in a later chapter. It is a simple matter to answer the question: To what extent does the cloak of economic immunity surround the instructor when he expresses views that are contrary to those generally accepted in the community? The problem of the academic specialty need not be raised. To the degree that such immunity is granted, there is that degree of academic freedom.

On assessing or comparing the degree of academic freedom in two societies or two universities, the range of expression allowed in the communities-at-large is also an issue of considerable relevance. However, the application of the kind of measuring device suggested here would be possible even if this were not taken into account. I say, for example, that the range of expression in Community A is wide, and in

Community B very narrow. If academic men in Community B walked a very narrow path in their work, there would be no sanctions. On the other hand, the free expression in Community A might produce the desire to go still further, at which point sanctions would be forthcoming. It might appear that the device suggested would only assess sanctions and thus lead to the conclusion that there was more academic freedom in Community B than in Community A. On closer inspection, however, it could be observed whether or not sanctions would be imposed if certain lines of inquiry were attempted in Community A.

More than half a century ago, Harvard's President, C. W. Eliot (1907), observed that control over the hiring and firing of faculty left academic freedom in the hands of boards of trustees:

> In the institutions of higher education, the board of trustees is the body on whose discretion, good feeling, and experience the securing of academic freedom depends. There are boards which leave nothing to be desired in these respects; but there are also numerous boards that have everything to learn with regard to academic freedom. These barbarous boards exercise an arbitrary power of dismissal. They exclude from the teachings of the university unpopular or dangerous subjects [p.3].

A STUDY OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS

In 1947, Hubert Beck published a study of the governing

board members of colleges and universities in the American Association of Universities (AAU). At the time of his writing, the AAU contained 30 member institutions in the United States; two Canadian universities were excluded from his study because he did not want to confuse his findings with responses reflecting British or French influence in Canada. Beck's effort was by no means an attempt to study a cross section of higher education boards; he admittedly aimed at the largest, richest, and most prestigious institutions in the country, for reasons that were justified by the aims and scope of his problem.

Beck drew a social profile of the American trustee of the major university. (In different states and colleges, member of a university governing board is variously called a regent, a trustee, a governor, or an overseer; in this book, the term trustee has been arbitrarily chosen for interchangeable use with governing board member.) Beck's primary technique was to obtain data on the social characteristics of trustees, often from public records. For more than seven hundred persons on the thirty boards, he made a detailed quantification and study of their occupations, ages, income, sex, education, religious preferences, etc. For this information alone, Beck's book would be an important document on the kinds of persons who come to powerful positions in higher education. But Beck

had other purposes, as well. He wanted to draw inferences from his data about the kinds of stands his subjects might take on substantive policy matters.

Accordingly, he made a leap from the social characteristics of the board member to the social attitude and policy of the board member. There are some strong theoretical foundations for his leap, although it left his work vulnerable to the charge that his inferences were not warranted by his data. Perhaps the major issue in the sociology of knowledge is the explanation of the relationship between biographical features of the thinker and the nature of his thought. One expression of this relationship is the Marxian position that the social-economic position of the individual is a powerful determinant of his perspective of the world and shapes his ideology. Karl Mannheim (1936), in this tradition, wrote:

> The ideological element in human thought is always bound up with the existing life-situation of the thinker. . . .
>
> It could be shown in all cases that not only do fundamental orientations, evaluations, and the content of ideas differ but that the manner of stating a problem, the sort of approach made, and even the categories in which experiences are subsumed, collected, and ordered vary according to the social position of the observer.

This position, along with that set forth by Marx, asserts the nature of the relationship in its most polemic form (Feuer, 1959). More moderately stated--i.e., as more generally used in

social science theory with empirical support--the social-economic position of the individual is highly related to his social thought and social actions. For example, we know empirically that there is a marked tendency for those with the highest status in a society to support the most traditional and conservative institutions. The higher one's social status, the more likely he is to believe that the world is a just world where men get what they deserve and deserve what they get. If that is true, argued Beck, then the social position of the trustees will be informative about their behavior on matters of policy and aims.

Beck's study concerned persons who were trustees during the academic year 1934-35, so it should be kept in mind that it was the time of the Great Depression. The median annual income of the trustee was $61,000, and the median age was 59. For those for whom religious affiliation could be obtained, 85 percent were Protestant; this figure would be higher were it not for the fact that the Catholic University alone contributed over half of the total Catholic trustees. In 1935, Episcopalians and Presbyterians together constituted eight percent of the population of the country, but the two denominations made up almost half of the trustees. An attempt to add to this biographical data a questionnaire which would have obtained information about the political persuasion of

the trustee was not successful. The most striking of Beck's findings, even for a depression period, was that 40 percent of the responding trustees asserted that persons on public relief should be barred from voting.

Purposes of the Study

Beck's research described the social characteristics of governing board members and touched upon their political beliefs. A goal of the present research has been to expand and elaborate in areas where the previous work did not venture. The data collected are intended to help fill in the gap left by Beck's leap from the social characteristics of trustees to their decisions on university policy matters. There has been no attempt to regather the kind of detailed biographical information on trustees which Beck obtained, although, this study includes biographical information on governing board members which can be used for comparisons with Beck's information. There has been a concentration, instead, upon the kinds of ideas the board members actually express on substantive issues. The data include responses to a number of different kinds of questions in different areas of university life, addressing different goals of higher education. Questions addressed to trustees ranged from inquiries about their conception of academic freedom to what they would have done in the Berkeley Student Revolt in the fall of 1964.

The limitations of this approach are readily apparent. In the best of possible research situations, one would have access to the actual stands taken by board members at their meetings. This information could then be related to the social variables that Beck used to check against the relationship which he predicted. But that kind of research is not possible for several reasons. Inaccessibility, time, and money are only the strategic barriers. Even if the problems resulting from these factors were solved, direct observation might itself alter the behavior of the subject. The questionnaire technique also presents a similar problem; the respondents probably bend their answers a bit away from the direction in which they would actually behave in a given situation. Nevertheless, we can cautiously use these responses as the best available general indicators of behavior. They provide, at the very least a normative statement about the way the respondents believe they ought to behave (or perhaps the way they think they are expected to behave). These conceptions of normative directives are themselves guidelines to action that is taken.

Data Collection

Introductory letters were sent to the presidents of 38 member institutions of the American Asssociation of Universities (AAU) in August, 1964. Canadian universities

were excluded, as they were in Beck's study. The letters indicated that the principal investigator of the research project wanted to update and expand some research on governing boards, invited the presidents to participate, and asked for their cooperation in an attempt to secure a high return rate from their respective boards. Of the more than three-quarters of the presidents who responded in some form, the overwhelming majority were supportive. Only one president categorically refused his cooperation, and his refusal indicated that he was partial to the natural sciences and hostile to the social sciences in general.

The mailed questionnaire, as a means of studying a population, necessarily involves many difficulties. The deficiencies of the method are well discussed in the literature of the methodology of the social sciences. As if the technical and mechanical problems are not enough, there are also the problems of how best to phrase the questions and how to describe the areas touched by the questions. Every adult has probably been exposed to exasperating and senseless questionnaires, which require choices to be made among unacceptable alternatives. One would often prefer to write an essay rather than be forced to "strongly agree," "agree," or "disagree." In the construction of the questionnaire used in this study an attempt was made to adjust to this problem by

encouraging personal responses. Spaces were interspersed throughout the questionnaire to allow and encourage extensive commentary.

The first questionnaire was mailed directly to more than 700 governing board members in March, 1965. Where governing boards included 30 members or less, the whole membership of the board was included. However, to include a whole board of more than 120 members (as at the University of North Carolina, for example) would overbalance and skew the study towards a single university. Thus, at institutions with more than 30 trustees, a random sampling device was used, restricting the number to 25 to 28. The first returns brought slightly over 200 responses, and a second attempt was made in December, 1965 to contact board members again. An additional 100 responses were received, bringing the total to 306. The rate of return was uncannily similar to Beck's return rate in his study of 1934-35. From 734 requests, Beck received 301 replies. In the present study, there were 726 requests and 306 replies.

By ordinary standards the rate of return is low, but there are compelling reasons why ordinary standards should not be applied to this population. First, the subjects are extraordinary in their inaccessibility, resulting from the extensive travelling attendant to their <u>other</u> positions. Second, the fact that these subjects are much older than subjects in

most questionnaire studies means that they are much more likely to be incapable of responding due to illness, hospitalization, and in some cases death. The median age of those responding was 60, whereas the median age of the nonrespondents was almost 70. Not only are the younger trustees simply more physically capable of responding, but they are also likely to be more willing to respond because of greater sympathy for social research.

The relatively low return rate poses less of a problem than it ordinarily might for another reason. A sample of the nonrespondents was analyzed on the same kind of census questions as the responding population. Comparisons revealed a pattern of the direction of the differences in the populations that allows one to extrapolate to more general characteristics of the nonrespondents. As already indicated, the latter were generally older. They were also more skewed in the direction of business affiliations and related occupations. Thus, the conclusiveness of the findings did not need to be jeopardized by the 40 percent return rate, for it was reasonable to treat the 40 percent suggestive of the nature and direction of responses which might have been obtained if all those approached had replied.

Findings

The median age of the trustee in this study is 60, though the mode is a few years higher. The median and modal income for the trustee is between $50,000 and $75,000 per year. In the sample of 306, there is one labor official, but not a single working-class occupation is represented. There are one black, eight clergymen, and ten professors. The remainder are white, involved in secular and successful business enterprises, and--as expected--not professionally connected with higher learning.

It has already been noted that the control of higher education began to pass from the hands of the clergy to successful businessmen in the eighteenth century. This development was directly related to the increasing secularization of life in the West, in general, and America, in particular, and paralleled the development of what Weber (1930) has called "the spirit of capitalism" in the Protestant world. Clerical control had not permitted academic freedom to pursue religious ideas wherever they might lead as was early illustrated in the famous case of Harvard's first president, who was ousted for a minor deviation from religious orthodoxy. (At that time, the university president also taught courses.) When control of higher education passed to the merchants, however, it was natural that in time they would permit academic freedom to

pursue religious questions. For example, though it has taken decades, the theory of evolution can now be taught in every major American university. The present study shows we have almost come full circle; over 80 percent of trustees favor academic freedom (economic immunity) of the instructor on religious questions.

However, on political, economic, and social questions, board members, secular in their interests, are not so willing to permit deviation and free pursuit. It is consistent that secular men permit adventure into ideas about otherworldly matters but are concerned about controlling the pursuit of ideas relating to this world. In contrast to the extremely low-percentage rejection on the religious issue, more than one-third of the trustees expressed their disapproval of full academic freedom in political questions (see Table 1).

Table 1

Responses of All Trustees to the Academic Freedom of Instructors in Political Areas

["Without fear of being fired, the right to hold and express publicly any political position (including neofascist, socialist, or communist), so long as the classroom is not used as a forum for the expression of those views."]

	Percentage	N
"Strongly agree" and "Agree" (Should have free expression without penalty)	57.5	176
"Disagree"	35.6	109
"No opinion" and "No answer"	6.9	21
Totals	100.0	306

The finding is all the more dramatic when we notice the difference between trustees at public and private universities. Almost half of the public trustees are against political academic freedom as defined, while one-third of the governing board members in private institutions are opposed (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Responses of All Trustees to the Academic Freedom of Instructors in Political Areas by Public and Private Institutions

["Without fear of being fired, the right to hold and express publicly any political position (including neofascist, socialist, or communist), so long as the classroom is not used as a forum for the expression of those views."]

	Private		Public	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
"Strongly Agree" and "Agree" (Should have free expression without penalty)	61.1	128	52.5	41
"Disagree"	31.1	65	43.5	34
"No opinion" and "No answer"	7.7	16	3.8	3
Totals	100.0	209*	100.0	78*

*The total for N does not equal 306 because of 19 instances of "No answer" on the matter of public and private and/or the inability of the person responding to identify with complete precision on this matter.

Why this is true will be the source of some interesting speculation later on.

The findings revealed further remarkable substantive variations among the trustees. One line of responses provides a test of the Veblen hypothesis of the relationship between the business ethic of the trustee and his conception of the university as a going concern of business. While many of the trustees express the opinion that the university should be run according to the principles of a business, with criteria of output and organization, more than half of them reject this idea (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

Responses of All Trustees to
the Conduct of the University as a Business Enterprise

["To what extent do you agree with the position that a university is best conducted along the same principles of organization as a business enterprise?"]

	Percentage	N
"Strongly Agree" and "Agree" (Conduct university as business)	32.7	100
"Disagree"	52.9	162
"No opinion" and No' answer"	3.6	11
"Uncertain" or "Qualified response"	5.2	16
Totals	100.0	289

In terms of the hypotheses advanced by Veblen and Beck, a direct test occurs when we separate the business-ethic trustees from those other governing board members who reject the business-ethic in higher learning. The findings reported in Table 4 are worthy

TABLE 4

Responses of 262 Trustees to the Amount of Academic Freedom*

["In the major universities of the United States, do you believe that there is too much or too little academic freedom?"]

	Trustees Advocating Idea of University as Business Concern		Trustees Rejecting Idea of University as Business Concern	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
"Too much" academic freedom	40.0	40	4.9	8
"Right amount"	50.0	50	61.7	100
"Too little"	8.0	8	14.2	23
"Varies"	-	-	2.5	4
"No opinion" and "No answer"	2.0	2	16.7	27
Totals	100.0	100	100.0	162

*The 262 trustees were those who took a position on the question of whether the university should be conducted as a business enterprise. See Table 3.

of special note because social research does not often obtain such extremely clear differences between attitudinal dimensions. Forty percent of those with a business ethic believe there to be too much academic freedom in the United States, while only five percent of those without the business ideology for the university have responded in this manner. In short, Veblen's theoretical argument about business-minded men in control of the university turns out to have strong empirical support (Veblen, 1957, Chapters 2 and 3).

Restriction in forms of expression is an essential ingredient in the control of ideas. The one place where the harshest critics of a society are apt to get an open hearing from the citizenry is in the university; of all the established social institutions it is the one most dedicated to critical analysis. Students and faculty interested in pursuing certain problems and issues analytically are themselves usually not engaged directly in certain critical social processes, and they may gain in their analytic facility by being allowed to observe and hear from those who are actively engaged. Thus, students (and sometimes faculty) often invite persons from the community or society to speak upon an issue, so that they may better understand for themselves the speakers' positions.

The freedom of speakers from outside to appear on the campus at the invitation of the academic community is thus an

important element of academic life itself. The trustees, however, have placed the power of selection, not in the hands of those who have the greatest analytic competence in the pursuit of the problem, but in the hands of those whose job it is to deal with the nonacademic affairs of the community, the administration. An overwhelming majority of the trustees support the position that the administration should determine who shall not be allowed to speak on the campus. Only nine percent believe that the faculty should have such control (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

Responses of All Trustees to
Control of Outside Speakers on Campus

["Which of the following segments of the campus should have final authority to veto speakers who come to the campus?"]

	Percentage	N
"Administration"	67.3	206
"Faculty"	8.8	27
"Both"	13.2	40
"Other"	.3	1
"Neither"	7.8	24
"No opinion" and "No answer"	2.6	8
Totals	100.0	306

The development of social fraternities and athletics on the American campus has served to channel the students' passions away from vital social issues, acting as a damper on student political activity and student quest for more control over their own destinies. Since the Civil War, the American college student, almost alone in the world in this respect, has been submerged in trivial and inconsequential activity as far as the society-at-large has been concerned. For 100 years, American students have passively watched the antitrust and monopoly battles, the labor-management fights, and the ethnic and racial minorities struggles, raising their voices in unison only at the Saturday afternoon football games (Musgrave, 1923; Savage, 1927; Savage, Bentley, McGovern, Smiley, 1929; Savage, McGovern, Bentley, 1931; Wilson, 1909). Meanwhile, the university students of Germany, India, China, Japan, Scandinavia, Russia, and the Netherlands (to name but a few) were far more involved in the economic, political, and social issues of their countries (Amstutz, 1958; Battistini, 1956; Chandra, 1938; Chiang, 1948; Comparative Educational Review, 1966; Doolin, 1964; Kaki, 1958; Kandel, 1935; Wang, 1927). Whether they were right or wrong, university students have provided much of the intellectual force and some of the central and critical manpower for the major revolutions of the last century: China (1912, 1927, and 1946), India (1948), Russia (1905 and 1917), and African nations (1948 to 1960). These revolutions have directly

affected the lives of three-quarters of the world's population, and their consequences have been so far-reaching that they have ultimately returned to touch directly upon the lives of all. What must have struck the observer of the American university scene in 1966 was how few students had previously been actively engaged by the two great moral issues of our time--the internal struggle for an end to racial oppression and exploitation, and the war in Southeast Asia.

It is in this context that we view the governing board members' respective attitudes to social fraternities and student political activity. It is not surprising that a large plurality indicated that they would actively encourage the establishment and maintenance of fraternities. Two out of three trustees either support fraternities or are neutral (See Table 6).

TABLE 6

Responses of All Trustees to
Encouragement of Fraternities on Campus

["Would you encourage or discourage social fraternities in institutions of higher learning in America?"]

	Percentage	N
"Encourage" social fraternities	43.5	133
"Discourage"	28.4	87
"Indifferent" and "Neutral"	26.1	80
"No opinion" and No answer"	2.0	6
Totals	100.0	306

Only about one-fourth have said that they would actively discourage fraternities. What is surprising in these data is that the trustees from public universities are more conservative on this issue than are governing board members from private institutions. Indeed, one of the more interesting patterns in this study was a general tendency for public institution trustees to express generally more conservative views. More than two-thirds of the public institution trustees would encourage fraternities, while only one of every three from the private colleges are supportive (see Table 7). Because private

TABLE 7

Responses of All Trustees to
Encouragement of Fraternities on Campus
by Public and Private Institutions

["Would you encourage or discourage social fraternities in institutions of higher learning in America?"]

	Private		Public	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
"Encourage" social fraternities	34.2	71	67.9	53
"Discourage"	35.9	75	12.8	10
"Indifferent" and "neutral"	27.9	58	19.3	15
"No opinion" and "No answer"	1.9	4	-	-
Totals	100.0	209	100.0	78

institutions are more dependent upon donations and support from alumni, and because fraternities tend to draw the alumni, we would have expected trustees from the private universities to be more receptive to fraternities.

I have suggested that the political activity of students is directly related to the fraternity issue. After the Berkeley Student Revolt in 1964, occasioned by the increased political activity of students on the campus, the number of freshmen entering fraternities the following year dropped off so markedly that several fraternities either disbanded or were struggling for existence. Meanwhile, at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California, where there had not been any noticeable political agitation or activity (it came later, in 1969), the number of pledges to fraternities and sororities skyrocketed during that same fall of 1965.

The 1964 Berkeley Student Revolt was the direct consequence of the administration's restriction of student political activity. All who have written on the subject agree on that basic point, even when they disagree about the meaning, effects, tactics, and portents of the revolt (Draper, 1965; Lipset, Wolin, & Sheldon, 1965; Miller & Gilmore, 1965). Some writers have argued that the revolt was a student quest for more power and control, others have seen it as an anarchistic statement, and still others have seen it as a legitimate attempt to redress

just grievances.

Fortunately for this study, the Berkeley revolt was still simmering at the time the trustees were first asked to respond and an opportunity was provided to include several questions about the Berkeley situation. Questions were asked concerning how the trustees thought they would have reacted, had they been regents at the University of California at the time; what they believed to be the source of the trouble; and how much they knew about it. Less than 20 percent of the trustees responded in a manner that could be conceived to be supportive of the student political activity. Only three percent favored liberalization of the regulations governing student political activity and backed censure of the administration.

Objections to the tactics employed in the revolt (for example, the Sproul Hall sit-in) can be confused with objections to student political activity. Surely a trustee might favor political expression without favoring revolt, rule breaking, etc. But the trustees' response to the Berkeley situation was clearer than that. They had the opportunity to respond in a variety of ways which allowed analysis of the separate strains of their objections, and if they were simply censuring student tactics, it would have been immediately apparent.

When absolute power and authority are invested in a body, the way in which that body chooses to delegate authority is of

the greatest importance to the structure of the institution. That choice is an expression of the investments and attitudes of the body with power, so there is a direct link between the expression and the exercise of power. The power of the university governing board is uncontested. With the campus divided into three parts--faculty, students, and administration--the board decides which of these three will assume the authority to make the immediate decisions on the campus. The conception of the student as immature, irresponsible, and in need of moral guidance and control precludes the possibility that the students are even considered candidates for the exercise of power.

Once again, a European comparison is instructive for offering alternatives that are usually not considered in the United States. In Europe, student representatives must often be consulted before any major change is made in educational policy. By law, the advice of students need not be heeded, but the fact that there is specific machinery for the formal acceptance of student opinion genuinely reflects the stature of that opinion in policy matters, as well as the implicit power assigned to students by the national ministries.

The American board member reflects the attitude of the society of which he is a member by not seriously considering the student as a voice in university policy matters. Thus, the choice of who it is to whom power is to be delegated must be made between

the faculty and the administration. One of the purposes of our study was to ascertain not only where the choice lies, but the relative strength of sentiment and its distribution on some important matters in university life.

The power to hire and fire the faculty is a critical issue of control, and the trustees overwhelmingly place this power in the hands of the administration. The nature and quality of the faculty is perhaps the most important determinant of the nature and quality of the institution. An eminent faculty ensures the university of great prestige, which in turn attracts good students. In an age of academic specialization, the professor in a given discipline is the person best qualified to judge the professional competence and eminence of a prospective colleague. Nonetheless, the governing board has given over to the administration the formal authority in the selection and retention of faculty. In practice, the faculty still has the dominant voice, and it is usually only on the matter of a strong veto that the administration directly exercises its authority in the hiring question. However, the fact that the faculty cannot be sure that its selection will always meet with the approval of the dean supplies it with a large measure of caution and responsiveness to the wishes of the administration. If, for example, the dean is very much concerned about the research capabilities of a prospective instructor, he will certainly

communicate this concern to the relevant faculty where there is a vacancy. Despite the fact that the department members may feel that teaching ability, intellectual breadth, and humanistic orientation are equally important, they may opt for the professional researcher in compliance with the wishes of the administration.

It is now taken rather much for granted that the university professor is an employee, much in the same way that an executive in a corporation is an employee, to be hired and fired by the employer. The general acceptance of this notion is a victory for the Boston businessmen who first took over the control of Harvard. When the secular and business interests began to dominate the academic scene, it was inevitable that the criteria of success which businessmen possessed would influence the course of higher education. The European antecedents of the American university certainly contained no such conception of the professor's role as that of an employee. From time to time, a few cases of an instructor's dismissal has brought with it the claim and the defense that he has a right to his position that is not subject to an employer's contractual agreement (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958, pp. 355-359).

Conclusions

Beck's study of university trustees, based primarily on an analysis of their social characteristics and selected poli-

tical attitudes, concluded that they were a select and conservative group whose policy positions would not be in keeping with the aims of higher education as now conceived. Whether for better or worse, Kerr (1963, pp. 1-46) is at least accurate in his description of the contemporary American university as a multidimensional creation at odds with itself. Nonetheless, there are identifiable aims of the American university, and what disagreement there is about them concerns which aim is chosen for treatment as the one most primary. Whether we choose Newman's "idea" of a university, Flexner's "scholar," or the ancient-to-contemporary ambiguity of "service" to society, the realization of any of these aims is intertwined with the academic freedom of the professor and the student to pursue areas of inquiry without arbitrary constraints. So long as religious orthodoxy was the primary function of the university, it was understandable and even defensible that religious deviation would not be permitted. When control of higher education passed to more secular hands, it was equally understandable--but hardly defensible--that secular deviation would be penalized.

This study is, in one sense, a complement to Beck's work; it attempts to provide some answers in the area where he was most vulnerable to criticism. Two qualifying remarks are necessary: First, there is some evidence that the trustees are more sympathetic to the values of the academic community than others of

their social, economic, and political positions. Several of the respondents volunteered that they are very much at odds with most of their friends and associates on matters of academic freedom, for example. Contact with the university undoubtedly plays a role in influencing their position. Second, analysis of a sample of nonrespondents suggests that those responding are also more sympathetic to a freer pursuit of knowledge than are the nonrespondents.

Despite these two qualifications, however, it is fair to conclude that Veblen and Beck were in general correct in their surmises and predictions about the direction and substance of the academic policy views held by university governing board members. The issue of greater significance is the relationship of this element to the question of the aims of higher learning. There is no argument about the idea that the power to control the university should be in the hands of those most competent and most committed to the realization of the aims of the university. If the aim of a business is profit, then it is organizational folly to permit control by those whose primary commitment is to the search for truth. In higher education, arguments can develop around the nature and primacy of aims and the delegation of power. Yet, the society and the university community have not engaged in an open critical discussion about these arguable matters. Instead, some forty years after Veblen's seminal

essay, the data can reveal that at least one of every three trustees will explicitly state that "the university is best run along the principles of a business enterprise."

And the data tell us more: that the trustees who feel this way about the business character of the university are those most hostile to secular unorthodoxy. The point is not simply that Veblen and Beck were right; by being right they put their fingers on an important vacuous inconsistency in the control of higher learning. That inconsistency has been ignored; essays on the subject have been summarily dismissed; and earlier data have been discounted as inconclusive. Surely some function can be served if stimulation can be provided that will bring about reappraisal of the relationship between control and aims in the universities.

CHAPTER III*

GOVERNANCE IN THE SWEDISH UNIVERSITIES

In the United States, the traditional conception of the external danger to the university has been that the state, the government, or "politics" will try to intercede in the affairs of scholars and men of ideas to press "political" interests. To counteract this, a "buffer" is set up between the state and the university. In theory, this buffer is a private board of laymen, citizens from the community, who are given authority over the affairs of the university. In fact, these private lay interests are predominantly powerful economic interests as represented by the most successful of active businessmen (Beck, 1947; Hartnett, 1969). In the United States then, the rhetoric is that powerful economic interests are a buffer between the state and the university.

In Sweden, in contrast, the state attempts to act as a buffer between powerful economic interests and the university. For the last thirty years, the Social Democrats have held power in Sweden. During the last decade, especially, with the expansion of higher education, the government has made use of its role to influence higher education.

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*This chapter was co-authored with John E. Doyle.

Since the political and economic interests of any country are usually in considerable harmony, it may seem unlikely that it makes any difference which interest serves as the buffer to protect the university from the other interest. Nonetheless, it does make a difference, and there are some interesting consequences of this difference for the aims and control of the university.

Sweden has five universities, all coordinated, governed, and funded by a central Ministry of Education. The founding dates of the universities reveal the wide variation in age and tradition (a factor in governance): Uppsala, founded in 1477; Lund, 1668; Stockholm, 1877; Gothenburg, 1891; and Umeå, 1963. Unlike the United States, Sweden makes a clear separation between its professional schools and its universities. Of equal rank and stature to the universities are 25 professional and specialized institutions of higher education serving such professions as medicine, technology, veterinary science, and music. Although this discussion of governance in Swedish higher education will occasionally include references to the professional schools, the major focus of analysis will be upon the five universities.

In the United States, three distinct identifiable parties on the campus of the university are the administration, the faculty, and the students. As we have seen in Chapter II, the administration is directly accountable, in the line of authority, to the board of governors which sits at the top of the formal governance structure. In the formal structure of higher education in Sweden, we must

substitute the Chancellory of the Universities for the administration and the Ministry of Education for the board of governors.

Immediately, then, we perceive a difference in the formal line of accountability. For while the major American institutions usually invest ultimate authority in a lay body of well-to-do businessmen who are private citizens (even in public universities), the Ministry of Education in Sweden is itself accountable to the Prime Minister, the most public of figures. This difference in the formal line of accountability has less consequence for invasions of academic freedom (which American commentators typically say they fear will result from the elimination of the lay buffer) and far more consequence for the available public version of what the university should be doing in and for the society. In fact, as we shall see shortly, higher education in Sweden is freer from incursions on academic freedom than higher education in the United States. But a more important consequence of the different line of authority is the general acceptance, among all parties in Sweden, that the universities' role in the society is, first of all, service. To be sure, what is variously meant by "service" is a matter of interpretation (political, ideological, and other) and is itself the source of argument. However, the American observer, who has heard the ceaseless incantation that the explicit politicization of the university would result in the loss of its relative autonomy, may be surprised to learn that the Swedish system retains its relative autonomy while accommodating to the explicitly diverging political interests of different parties (faculty, students,

and the Chancellory). One is left to conclude that something else must explain the loss of autonomy besides--if not in addition to --politicization.

The Ministry of Education directs all public education in Sweden, and almost all education in Sweden is public. Because the duties and responsibilities of the Ministry are so broad in scope, the Chancellor of the Universities consequently has considerable authority delegated to him, and the Ministry remains somewhat removed from university affairs. Thus, while in formal structure the Ministry parallels the board of governors in the United States, many of the governing functions are taken over by the Chancellor's Board.

THE CHANCELLORY

The Swedish universities obtain almost all of their financial support from the government. Budgets must be approved by the chief administrative officer of the whole system of higher education, the Chancellor, and eventually by the Ministry of Education and Parliament. But during the 1960s the Chancellor's Office developed an increasingly powerful role in the determination of resource allocation.

Between 1959 and 1962, the Swedish educational system, from the elementary schools through the gymnasium, underwent dramatic changes. The old elitist system, which provided the children of the upper classes with preuniversity training at an early age, was reformed, and Sweden moved in the direction of a more egalitarian

educational system (Tomasson, 1966). This meant an inevitable opening up of the avenues to higher education for a much larger proportion of the population. Tens of thousands of middle-class students were soon to descend upon the universities, bastions of some of the oldest traditions among Swedish institutions. The universities, comparatively small institutions about the size of liberal-arts colleges in the United States, were suddenly to bulge at the seams when enrollments increased 300 to 500 percent in about a decade. The traditionalists on the faculties and in the society abhorred the situation, exclaiming that "more means worse" and decrying the "Americanization" of Swedish universities. Mass higher education, it was said, carried with it the lowering of standards. But, whether or not "more meant worse," "more" certainly meant bureaucratization and the transformation of some of the most essentially traditional ways of life at the universities.

In the past, the departmental units--institutes (the terms are used interchangeably)--were small enough so that the single professor could handle most of the administrative problems of admissions and processing through his office. When a department grew in size from 40 to 600 undergraduate majors in ten years, new roles of coordination and administration were required. Indeed, in the old system, there was no separate body of administrators comparable to American officers of admissions, registrars, and deans with large and proliferated staffs. Many of these functions were handled either by the departments themselves--as they were by American

faculties in the early part of the twentieth century--or by students (Brubacher and Rudy, 1958).

The creation of a bureaucracy of coordination and administration was a seemingly inevitable outcome of the great increase in enrollment. The only way bureaucratization could have been avoided in the new Swedish system was by the creation of many small relatively autonomous universities. But it was argued that this would not only have been more expensive and less efficient, it would also have compromised the notion of uniform standards for all the universities and the Swedes seem to hold dearly to this commitment.

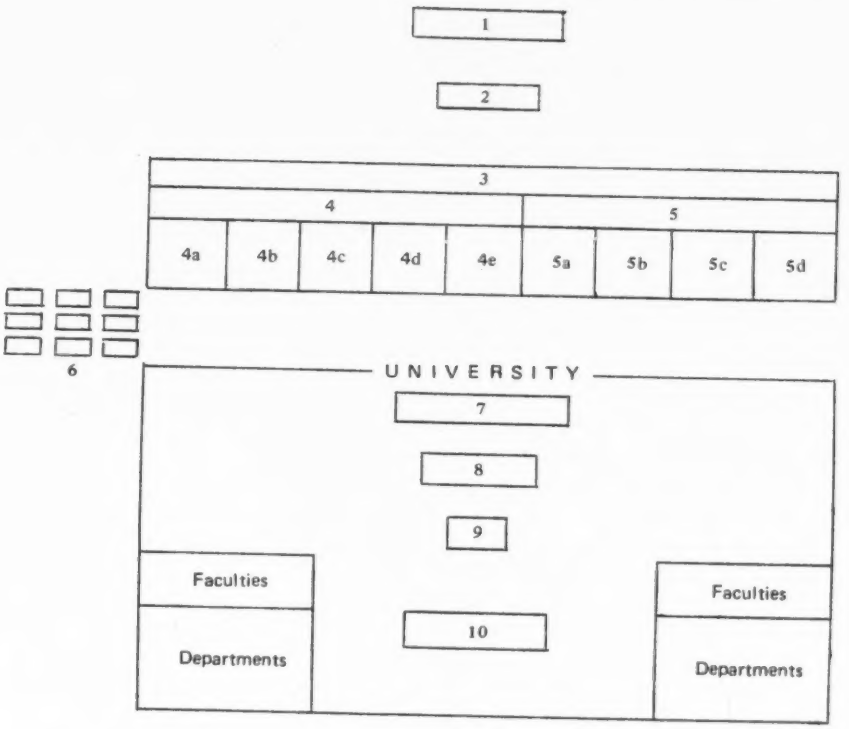
Prior to 1962, the chief coordinating officer of the university system, the Chancellor, was elected from among academic men. The professors invariably chose one of themselves to represent their interests to the government and to negotiate for such things as personnel needs, expansion of facilities, and general budgetary considerations.

Weber (1947) observes that selection to office is an important feature in a bureaucracy and that election is often eliminated. The reason, Weber says, is the need to fill the job with a man whose qualifications are most appropriate to the role's specifications, and election is too much subject to the perfidy of popularity.

So it was, with the reorganization culminating in 1962, that the Chancellor suddenly became a civil servant appointed by the government. And appointment was coupled with a changing definition of the role of Chancellor. Whereas he formerly represented the

interests of the academics to the government, he now became, instead, the government's representation to the academics. As far as the government was concerned, the change meant that reform and planning in the general interests of the society were now in hands directly responsible to those interests. As far as the academics were concerned, an alien who did not understand them and their way of life and thinking was not only in their midst, but the authority. Later, when we discuss the Swedish faculty, we will look at some of the conflicts this authority issue engendered.

The Chancellor is chairman of the Chancellor's Board which officially makes the highest policy decisions. The Board includes eight men, in addition to the Chancellor, and its composition indicates the kinds of priorities and commitments the reorganization emphasized. Five of the members are the chairmen of the five Faculty Planning Boards (see Figure 1), while the remaining three members are appointed by the government and usually represent industrial and commercial interests. At first glance it might appear that the faculty would have controlling power on such a board, but that is only because the title "Faculty Planning Board" is misleading. These boards are so constituted that the professors are actually in a slight minority. Even though five of the nine members of the Chancellor's Board are from these academic planning boards, there is no assurance that the chairmen will be academic men; indeed, the statistical chances are great that they will not be academics. The professors typically have four seats for which the faculties themselves nominate candidates,



1. Ministry of Education
2. The Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities
3. The Board (Nine members: The Chancellor of the Universities + Chairmen of the five Faculty Planning Boards + three other members)
4. The Faculy Planning Boards
   - 4a. Arts, Theology
   - 4b. Social Sciences, Law
   - 4c. Medicine, Odontology, Pharmacy
   - 4d. Mathematics, Science
   - 4e. Technical Sciences
5. Departments of the Office of the Chancellor
   - 5a. Department of Planning
   - 5b. Department of Education
   - 5c. Department of Administration
   - 5d. Department of Rationalization
6. Educational Councils
7. The University Council (Rector + Vice Rector + Head of Administration + Deans)
8. Rectorship (Rector, Head of Administration)
9. Head of Administration
10. The Central Administration of the University

Fig. 1. The formal structure of higher education in Sweden.

but at least five other seats and sometimes more, are held by government appointment and represent a combination of public authorities, industrial or commercial employers, and individuals expected to act in the public interest.

A statement from the office of the Chancellor (Swedish Universities, 1966) about the activities of the two sets of boards gives us a sense of the interplay in the roles of the boards; note also the equivalent uses of the terms "professor" and "institution":

> The system for budgetary requests is that the institutions (professors) first work out their proposals. These are treated in the faculty. The budgetary requests of the faculties are passed to the Faculty Planning Boards. Before the Board of the Office of the Chancellor decides the proposal which are to be passed on to the government, the Faculty Planning Boards make a detailed survey of the proposals and give their views about the requests of the faculties (at all instances the Planning Boards have to analyze the priority problems).

The statement indicates just how important the reorganization of the Chancellor's Office was to the faculties. An appointee of the government, the Chancellor now acts to process and screen such things as budgetary requests to the government. Consequently, an institute in the university may request money to support ten new staff members and later discover that the request that finally goes before the government committee on such matters is actually for only three staff members. Such instances have commonly occurred (Högre Utbildning och Forskning, 1967-68).

As Figure 1 shows, the Faculty Planning Boards represent board divisions of the academic fields in higher education. Using the designations common in the United States, one finds separate representation for the humanities, the natural sciences, and the social sciences. In addition, the medical and the technical sciences (various engineering fields) have their own planning boards.

The Chancellor acts both as an initiator of reform and change and as a screener and mediator of problems and strains. Cast in either role, he is perceived as a threat and an enemy to the old academic establishment. His primary loyalty, as perceived by the professors, is to the government, and from where they sit, all they can see is the Chancellor's role as hatchet man on budget and personnel requests.

The Chancellor himself sees his role as mediator of diverse interests while he gives direction to the larger course of the universities. He is concerned with processing through the university system the skilled technicians to perform the tasks to which the government gives priority. The position calls for a man who will act as "Captain of the Bureaucracy," who will operate a "multiversity" service station for the entrenched interests of the existing social order (Kerr, 1963). This view of the Chancellor's role is dramatized by the kinds of things he and the Chancellor's Board believe can go wrong with the university system. Their conceptualization of problems takes the form of lines of efficiency or inefficiency, interruption in the movement of student through the system, unpredictable jerks and jolts in student training, or supplying too few students and faculty for

the more vital disciplines. In the Chancellor's Office, one does not hear rhetoric about the humanizing function of the university that is so typical of those in parallel administrative posts in the United States.

The change in the Chancellor's Office in 1962 brought about a different kind of confrontation between the academic men and the government. One might conjecture that any issue which the Chancellor chose to take up for the purpose of suggesting changes in the way professors had been doing things would meet with resistance. So it was with a small problem which otherwise seems to be a trivial issue. Students in Sweden must pass six units of work in variously arranged fields in order to obtain their first academic degree, the fil. kand. roughly the equivalent of a B.A. Formally, one unit should be taken each semester, so that three years should suffice to fulfill the requirements for the degree. However, most students take at least four years, and many take five to get this degree--although the length of time varies by field and department, and students in physics take less time than students studying languages, for example. Indeed, students studying the English language take an average of three semesters to pass one unit (Högre Utbildning och Forskning, 1967-68) It is this practice which produced the problem.

The Chancellor decided that this period was far too long, that something must be wrong with instruction methods and examinations in English for students to be so unnecessarily delayed. He began to put pressure on the professors of English to change

the requirements and the curriculum so that students could obtain unit credit for their course work in a period more in line with the standard or recommended time. The student union agreed that changes were required, but a professor at one of the universities was infuriated at what he called meddlesome intrusion into his institute. He argued publicly (in the press) that the issue was standards of performance, that students had to meet the standards above all. If it took three semesters for one unit, then that was the way it was to be, but he would not compromise one inch on the issues of competence, achievement, and excellence. He then stated that he would resign his professorship before he allowed such an intrusion into the academic affairs of his department. The student union at the university immediately dispatched a statement to the Chancellor's Office, requesting that the Chancellor accept the professor's resignation forthwith. The requirements ultimately were changed and this attests to the power of the alliance between the student union and the Chancellory.

Hindrances to the intellectual freedom of the academic man in the United States are best understood by pointing to forces outside the university; in Sweden, such hindrances are primarily explained by the structure of life within the academic community. Conversely, the rich climate of academic freedom and the individual integrity of students and faculty members in Sweden derives from sources external to the university, while in the United States they are more likely to be based in the comparatively liberal atmosphere and

structure of university departments.

In Swedish universities, the structure of authority in academic life can appropriately be likened to a feudal aristocracy, although within a single department a monarchy metaphor is perhaps more appropriate. A single professor guides the destiny of his own department. True enough, he may chose to run his institute democratically, in a laissez-faire way, or in an authoritarian manner, but there should be no misreading of the fact that it is his choice. Unlike his American counterpart, the Swedish professor has historically faced relatively little threat that his position, authority, or the direction of his academic-political interests would be challenged by forces outside of academia. The worst he can expect, if he pursues his favorite projects, is to have his department's funds reduced.

In a Renaissance world, it made sense to arrange intellectual life around a Renaissance man. When philosophy was at the center of the academic disciplines some three centuries ago, when a learned man's grasp could pretend to encompass the whole of the major ideas of his own and related fields, the knowledgeable professor with select disciples and apprentices was an appropriate model. But specialization is now so great that, for example, experimental psychologists and personality theorists cannot speak to each other with an assumption of each other's comprehension of their respective specialized research. The Renaissance has long since passed, and it is folly to continue to use a structure of

education that depends upon the generalizing breadth of a single man. He may exist, but he is a rarity in this age. So the Swedish professor is an anachronism, a specialist with limited scope within his field, who sits in judgment upon a whole institute containing specialists outside his area of interest, if not his competence. The professor of economics who is an economic historian finds himself judging the doctoral dissertation of the econometrician--or more likely, excluding econometric interests from his institute altogether. The professor of physics who obtained his education prior to the beginning of the atomic age finds himself judging or excluding atomic specialists and specialties.

The danger of such a system is both obvious and subtle. It is obvious that students and nontenured faculty are in fear of committing the grave error of not being in what is considered the "right" specialty. There are more subtle consequences in the corrosion and corruption of the intellectual climate that can be traced to the outward suppression of this insidious fear.

Further, while the system of a single professor for a few select students was workable when there were only a few score students in a department, the development of a more egalitarian society in Sweden has swept aside old notions of the one-to-one apprenticeship and the tutorial relationship. The ratio of students to professors now is often more than 75 to one, and the professor flees students and teaching as much as research grants allow.

There are approximately 350 regular appointments to the position of "lektor" in Sweden (Högre Utbildning och Forskning, 1967-68, p. 22). These are teaching posts, and they carry tenure. However, there are some 300 "extra lektors" who are appointed temporarily from term to term to meet the demands of increased student enrollment. These extra lektors have no tenure because they are rehired only from year to year. Enrollment in Swedish universities has been on a dramatic upsurge in the last two decades, so these extra lektors ordinarily need not worry about their positions being jeopardized by a dropping off of students. (In the event of such a development, they would lose their positions, while the tenured lektors' jobs are not dependent upon enrollment.) Nonetheless, they can formally be fired at the end of any given year if for some reason the institute or department would like to relieve them of their posts.

There are some 40,000 hours of "lektor time" in the Swedish universities. Those in lektor positions, both regular and temporary appointments, make up only half of this time. Therefore, departments hire graduate assistants who are studying for advanced degrees to fill these posts. As might be imagined, there is hardly any security in these positions because they are combined with student status.

While it appears, at least on paper, that Swedish university instructors have economic security independent of their professors, most in fact are quite dependent upon being in the professors'

good graces. This situation produces an unfortunate consequence for the freedom to choose one's intellectual problems. One illustration: in a language department at one of the Swedish universities, the professor has been concerned for the last few decades with philological and phonological problems in his subject language. His specialty has been the fifteenth century, specifically the phonetic and adverbial usages of that century. The feudal structure of academic life is reflected in the content of problems, research, and teaching that have developed at every level of his department. The study of literature as literature is de-emphasized to the point of exclusion. Those who would study the literary content of the language are not only at a disadvantage--they are at a total loss. Doctoral dissertations revolve around such themes as "The Increasing Frequency of the Preposition" and "Old Verbs with Latin Endings." Graduate students studying for a licentiate degree (a degree just below the doctorate) produce theses oriented toward the same structural and phonetic concerns: "Sounds and Symbols in the Works of. . ." and "Studies in Early 14th Century. . .Rolls." Undergraduates proceeding to the first academic degree are also required to write research papers on similar topics. Advanced undergraduates, although not completely restricted to fifteenth-century issues of word sounds, orient their intellectual endeavors toward the concept of languages which dominates the institute. Of course, advanced American students also sometimes follow the work of their senior professors closely, but

the fact that an American language department has several professors means that students will have a chance to entertain alternatives and can carry on a dialogue about the values, virtues, vices, and shortcomings of each intellectual approach. The department or institute has the greatest potential to develop vibrancy when various students from various specialties are continually confronted by alternative approaches which must be met, defended, or attacked on their own grounds.

The American method of handling a larger number of students in the university is to increase the number of professors who may contact and teach them. (American professors in major universities typically shun teaching as much as Swedish professors do, but that is a different point.) Thus, if enrollment is tripled in an American department of sociology, there will be adjustments to hire more full professors of sociology. This practice is particularly important with graduate training, where the escape from teaching and guidance is less possible (and less desperately sought). For one professor to handle all of the thirty doctoral candidates in his department would be an anomaly in the United States, but it will become increasingly frequent in Sweden with the locked-in system of one professor per institute.

Inside the academic scene, American professors, sharing authority and power within a single academic discipline, maintain an intellectual climate that is, comparatively, a cauldron of exchange, criticism, and disagreement. Specialization

is still a danger to exchange, but it is mitigated by the enforced intimacy of otherwise recalcitrant academic bedfellows. The jeopardy to a professor's freedom to pursue ideas and research is greater from without than from within. Internally, the structure of the United States academic community is relatively more conducive to dissent, argument, debate, and critical discussion. One man does not hold formal and personal sway. It is possible for an American student to get caught in a cross fire between two opposing professors in the same department, but it is less likely that he will incur the wrath of a single authoritative power outside of which he has no recourse to redress his grievances.

The trouble in the United States arises because of the way the rest of society relates to the academic man and how the academic man relates to the community. As has been noted in another context, the gap between the academic community and the remainder of society is much greater in the United States than in Sweden. This situation has resulted in suspicion and hostility between academics and nonacademics. Academics are both generally excluded from the seats of political power and are also voluntary abstainers from such seats (fear of "contamination," "selling out," and co-optation runs high).

The internal structure of control in the Swedish university, then--with vast authority invested in one man at the head of an institute--generally leads to a decreased latitude for faculty and students alike. In contrast, the internal structure of con-

trol of departments in the American university--with many men sharing the intellectual authority of their field--generally leads to increased latitude for the interests and expressions of faculty and students.

With respect to external structure of control (that is, control by those who are not part of the university community, but who would direct and pressure the university in one directon or another), Americans have come to fear centralization and state control. They have come to equate centralization and state control with the undermining of individual freedom and the invasion of privacy. In this regard, it is interesting to note that it is in America, not Sweden, where the private and personal lives of students have been most rigorously regulated, even to the hour, by deans of students. It is in America, not Sweden, where investigating committees pose periodic threats to faculty members with politically unorthodox views. It is in America where a faculty member of a prominent university has been dismissed for advocacy of freer sexual expression, for example. Any observer of the American scene is familiar with such problems, and they are in no need of further elaboration (Brubacher & Rudy, 1952; Veysey, 1965). It is important to point out, however, that in Sweden, with formal state control and centralization of all the universities through the Ministry, Swedish professors and students cannot cite a single case of the violation of academic freedom (from without) in the last thirty-five years. Indeed, the only case even mentioned

in a sample of nearly 80 Swedish professors from the whole country and every discipline concerns an atheist who was appointed to a chair in theology in the early 1920s--and the professor was finally allowed to keep his chair.

What is it about the Swedish situation, then, that allows a professor to participate in the political life of his country, to become embroiled in political controversy, and yet to enjoy more immunity from external control (to possess more academic freedom) than his American counterpart? Part of the answer is contained in the question. The Swedish professor is more of a participant in the structure which organizes and controls his society. He is not an alien sitting on the perimeter of the structure, taking pot shots and advocating dramatic changes in the social and political order, for he is more a part of that order. He receives more deference from his community, commands more respect from men in government, and carries more prestige in his society. The reasons exist far back in the tradition, and the tradition is grounded in the old elitist function of the university. Even as late as 1960, only two percent of the Swedish population aged 25 to 60 had college degrees (Tomasson, 1966, p. 215).

Swedish intellectuals differ from American intellectuals in two important respects. First, the Swedish intellectual participates more in the active political life of his society and is far more accepted and respected. In a recent national sample survey, the occupation which the Swedish people regarded as having the

greatest prestige was professor (Doyle, 1969). Second, the Swedish intellectual is directly involved, to a degree that is completely foreign to his American counterpart in the most important decision-making in his society. Academic men like Gunnar Myrdal and Bror Rexed have occupied important government positions, while others are key advisers and policymakers; by participating in government, they gain the admiration of their colleagues. In America, just the opposite effect can be seen: the man from the American academic community who takes a government position is often derided by his former colleagues who believe he has sold out to the Establishment. He is regarded as contaminated by his contact with seats of power, and he is ridiculed for his ability to participate successfully in the bureaucracy. Such men as Galbraith, Bundy, Schlesinger, and Moynihan are regarded with increasing suspicion as long as they remain in goverment positions.

The status of the Swedish intellectual is not without its price, however. The toll of success, integration, and power can result in the lapse from an incisive critical stance. The American intellectual is more likely to be skeptical, critical, and more analytic precisely because he gets more rejection and hostility from his society. He has remained relatively lean and critical because his country takes him less seriously. True enough, fatter days are here, and research grants, higher faculty salaries, and lucrative consulting posts have served to round the stomachs and dull the critiques of the American academic. Respect for his

position is also increasing, according to a recent updating of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) survey, but it does not approach that accorded to the Swedish professor. The latter need only make use of his title to receive all kinds of special treatment in the society-at-large.

The American intellectual community, without power and suspicious of those who wield it, has been relatively incapable of affecting the course of political and social life in the United States. In Sweden, on the other hand, the Social Democrats have been in power for more than 25 years. In no country outside the Soviet Union has a political party of the Left enjoyed such sustained control, and this has been largely attributable to the ability of the intellectuals to integrate into the government in various capacities as policymakers, advisors, and consultants.

American intellectuals seem to have great difficulty in sustained political organization. Concerned with his own identity as an intellectual, he has an almost compulsive aversion to those things which might let others identify him as nonintellectual. That is, he must demonstrate that he is not an organization man. Organization means meetings, meetings mean committees, and committees mean collective or consensus reports and, often, trivia; all violate the sense of personal worth of a self-conscious man of ideas.

Yet, far more than his Swedish counterpart, the American intellectual possesses a sense of community. He has a much greater

feeling of how far apart he and the typical businessman are in values, thoughts, and world-view. The mutual antagonisms of the business and the intellectual worlds produce for the latter a strong sense of a separate identity. He can feel comfortable only in the presence of his own kind, and he complains that others will not even begin to accept the assumptions that he takes for granted. Serious literature, enduring music, and political persuasion are the shibboleths, and they are rather good ones. That is not so in Sweden. There the businessman may be a concert-goer or a Strindberg savant, and he may even wear a beard. And if the badges and symbols of men of affairs and business shade over into what Americans regard as the property and propriety of the angry and rebellious, it is equally true that the European intellectual is himself less prone to a standard "uniform" to display his status as an intellectual, and he can don his dark blue suit, white shirt and tie without shame, guilt, or apprehension about his self-conception.

SWEDISH PROFESSORS

In the spring of 1967, I supervised a study of a select sample of 79 Swedish professors. Approximately 16 professors at each of the five universities were interviewed for an extended period by trained Swedish interviewers. The professors were selected so as to represent all of the various faculties in rough proportion to their population at the university. The questions that were asked dealt with current problems and issues in the Swedish University system, ranging from views on the satellite

system of new subsidiary affiliated universities developing in the outlying areas to views about the role of the Chancellor in Stockholm. The central purpose of the study was to determine the professors' views, attitudes, and strategies on the general matter of erosion (or increase) of their traditional authority. In the following discussion, data about Swedish professors are drawn from this study.

The Swedish professor is caught in an interesting dilemma. On the one hand, he comes out of an old traditional elitist system that was small and manageable. Typically, he would like the system to remain as it was. He usually resents the great influx of students that has resulted since 1960 from the gymnasium reform. On the other hand, he may feel envy when he sees that his own institute or discipline is not growing, or is not receiving money or favors from the government, while others are tripling and quadrupling staff in order to handle large numbers of students. For example, the number of students studying for "ett betyg" in sociology went from less than 50 to more than 1,000 in the two decades from 1949 to 1969. For the conservative philosophy professor, this development is often seen as a threat; and even though some part of him wants to return to the small and intimate setting of 1949, he argues vehemently for more staff and larger classrooms and more space for his own institute.

As in any university, the control of appointments to the faculty is an important indication of the location of power.

Formally, the professor is appointed by the King or the government. In fact, when a chair opens up at one of the universities--due to illness, resignation, or death--many factors come into play to determine the chair's new occupant, and none of these factors concern the King. First, there is the matter of competence as defined by one's professional peers. Several among those who have established such professionally acknowledged competence apply for the vacant post. The government, through the Ministry of Education, appoints a review board to make a decision as to who the new professor should be. To avoid a political situation like that facing the College of Cardinals in the Roman Catholic Church, this review board is usually heavily weighted with those already holding professorial appointments in the particular field at the other four universities; members of the final selection board are ineligible for membership on the review board. At this point, subtle political factors are involved. In very few cases is excellence so clearly a matter of consensus that agreement can be reached on which of the five most eminent men is the most deserving. Intellectual orientation, school of thought, and other considerations become important when all of the candidates are judged to be competent. But, in any case, the review board, dominated by those who are already professors, chooses the new professor.

Professors in Sweden establish their professional competence the same as professors elsewhere--by research and scholarly publication. Thus, Swedish professors are very likely to come

from the ranks of the "docents," the professional research appointments. A university "lektor" (lecturer) may have spent too much of his time lecturing to publish much, a situation that is quite familiar in American universities. In Sweden, research appointments carry no academic tenure, and a docent is normally appointed for only six years. As a result of a recent universitywide reform, effected by the government and the Chancellor's Office, however, the university lektor can now have tenure. This development is an indication of how the government directly affects the university structure.

The professor has a hand in appointing lektors, docents, and all other members of the staff of his department. Despite his ambivalent feelings about increases in enrollment, he usually argues for more money so that he can see his staff grow. However, he would prefer to see new appointments determined not by the number of students but by the kind and quantity of research going on or needed. For example, most of the professors in this study said that, while they believed that the number of students determined allocation of funds for appointments, they would prefer that this criterion was less important than research requirements.

In any event, Swedish professors tend to view the actual appointments of academic personnel in their departments as their legitimate prerogative. Only seven percent said that the appointments should be made by an administrator who is not himself an academic man, and well over three-quarters expressed the view that

the professor himself should make such additions and deletions from his staff as he saw the need for and judged the competence of.

This is one of the many areas in which the Chancellor's Office and the Swedish student union find themselves in natural alliance against the conservative professors.

Attempts by the Chancellor's Office to give greater emphasis to teaching are frequently opposed by the professors, but on two very distinct grounds. First, because the Chancellor is now a civil servant, a government official, and not an academic man as he was prior to 1962, almost any change which he proposes will meet with substantial opposition. There are those who see directives from the Chancellor's Office as encroachments upon the traditional prerogatives of the professor, and even when the substance of the change might otherwise be acceptable, some traditionalists among the faculties will oppose, <u>on principle</u>, the Chancellor's intrusion into affairs of "their" institutes. Thus, the attempt to emphasize teaching, its role in the university, the training of lecturers, and so forth, are often regarded with hostility and suspicion on grounds quite independent of the merit of the case.

Secondly, there is a substantive disagreement between the research scholar and the humanist about the relative importance of rewarding excellent research and excellent teaching. As in the United States, the reward system is always argued about as if there were a choice only between one or the other. Seldom does the rhetoric allow for the possibility of systematic rewards for

excellence in either or both. Research scholars feel that promotions based upon teaching will be made at the expense of promoting good researchers. Those who would place greater emphasis on teaching are wary of the imperialistic attitudes of the researchers.

There seem to be no complaints in Swedish academic circles about abridgements of academic freedom. Lecturers, professors, researchers, students, and administrative officials are very much in agreement that the curriculum and the personnel are not in danger of being intruded upon by political forces outside the university in an attempt to bend the university in a given political direction. This attitude can be explained by two very different sets of circumstances, one external to the university, one internal.

Externally, three factors combine to give the Swedish university a good deal of relative autonomy in developing the curriculum and staffing the faculty. First, there is a general acceptance of the dominant role of expertise as the only legitimate grounds for intrusion. Thus, experts in any given field are thought to know most and best about how research and teaching should be done in that field. There is no counterpart to the American popular notion of the superiority of "horse sense" or "common sense," along with attendant suspicion of the expert or intellectual.

Second, there is a class bias that selects Swedish professors from the upper social classes, and this combines with the acquiescence to expertise in a very subtle but profound way to give sustenance to the authority of the professor.

And third, there is the traditional structure of Swedish academia, with its remarkable decentralization of authority to local institutes, which makes it very difficult to hold a central administrator accountable--as one might hold a Dean of Faculties in the United States accountable. Significantly, Swedish professors, who are a part of the Swedish Establishment, are less likely than Americans to engage in research and teaching that external forces would find terribly upsetting.

When we turn to the set of internal conditions that mitigate against complaints about violations of academic freedom, the picture is muddier but more directly oppressive. Since the professor has such a large amount of power, economic and social, many have come to accommodate to it and to accept this authority as natural. Consequently, Swedish academics are less likely than American academics to feel that certain limitations upon their freedom of movement and choice are violations of academic freedom. If a professor has a particular interest and the whole institute's character is governed by this interest, the situation is regarded as palatable partly because it is regarded as normal.

Despite those features of the Swedish professor's politics, class, and academic life that would lead an American observer to characterize him as conservative, he is far more likely than his American counterpart to engage in and condone the radical activity of a strike. In this sense, Swedish faculties are much clearer about their work situation and work relationships than are faculties

in the United States.

Almost all schools in Sweden are public, and thus almost all teachers, from elementary grades through the university, are employed by the government. The teachers are unionized, however, and they bring a strong voice to policy matters and negotiations for working conditions and salaries. Most teachers (perhaps 90 percent) beyond the seventh year of instruction belong to a union (SACO). Because of the historic prestige and status accorded to academics who teach at the gymnasiums and universities in Sweden, SACO must be described as more than simply a white-collar union. The class academics represent in this society is not "petty bourgeois" but close to the top of the professional world.

The government is--and has been for the last twenty-five years--the Social Democrats. The left wing of that party is vociferously Socialist, while the right wing is to the left of the American Democratic party in its position on welfare, government controls, etc. As we have already mentioned, the Swedish Board of Education informed the faculties, in the summer of 1966, that the recent changes in the school system would necessitate a prolonging of the work year, more hours of instruction, and more pay. SACO agreed to the matter of more pay, but nothing else. The government later claimed that it thought it had an agreement on all of the terms, and when the school year started and SACO balked at the other terms, the government balked on the increased pay. SACO threatened a strike for late September, but nothing came of it--

not even serious discusssion among SACO's membership, who were lethargic, disinterested, and convinced that people just don't do such things. In early October, 1968, however, SACO called for and effected a point strike in the fields of mathematics, statistics, English, and physics. The strategy was designed to hit where the government would feel most vulnerable. The strike began in these four fields, affecting thousands of pupils from the seventh grade through the universities. SACO boasted of a strike fund of approximately six million dollars, and it could pay the striking teachers their full salaries at a cost of 400,000 dollars per month for a long enough time to give the union a negotiating advantage.

The government responded with a retaliatory measure. They locked out all SACO members from the schools for several days. While the union could pay a small number of teachers indefinitely from its strike fund, it could not manage to pay 20,000.

But SACO had other resources. It started out as a teacher's union, but it came to include many other professionals and civil servants, as well. In retaliation for the lockout, SACO called for a general strike of all its workers.

There was an angry group of left-liberal intellectuals within SACO who were at variance with the tenor of the group and its interests. These intellectuals were firmly committed to the Social Democrats, and some of them were in the left wing already mentioned. They wanted SACO to scale down its demands on salary, arguing that the members were already privileged enough.

Most SACO members were themselves either apathetic or against the first point strike. They were going about their daily tasks not at all engaged in the union's problems. Many of them were even delinquent in paying their dues, and they certainly took no interest in union meetings and union policy. (The professionals' tendency to oligarchy is no less pronounced than in blue-collar unions.) Suddenly, at that point when the conflict assumed such proportions as to affect their lives--indeed, to drastically affect their lives--they stormed into union meetings, some to protest SACO's politics, some to protest the strike as an idea, some just to register a protest.

But despite the fact that there was a majority of individual sentiment against the strike, the strike was considered inevitable. The general public in Sweden was hostile to SACO and the strike in the same way that Americans are against anything that "harms little children." To the two elements of individual members' sentiment and the public feeling against the strike, we must add the effect of the government lockout. If people were against the strike, they were more strongly opposed to the lockout. Yet, once again, they conceived of the problem in terms of inevitabilities.

Finally, the development of a potentially more general strike was threatened. But there was such universally strong personal and individual hostility and resentment to a larger strike that any analysis centering upon individuals as units of action is doomed to confusion. With the exception of formalistic statements

by SACO's top organizational hierarchy, there was almost no expression in any form or in any forum that favored the general strike.

The lockout lasted only a few days, and the general strike, of course, never came off. Negotiations began, the crisis was averted, and both sides were able to leave the scene claiming partial victory.

There is one final issue here which deserves special attention, however. The strike as a weapon has historically been anathema to the conservative, privileged, or rightist political groups in a society. The argument against the strike by these groups has generally taken the form of a generic dismissal of the whole idea of the legitimacy of the strike in bargaining. However, the right wing in Sweden favored this strike. The conservative newspaper, the Svenska DagBladet, supported SACO's efforts to obtain higher salaries by this method. The situation was unique. By supporting a strike against the government, the right wing gave some considerable measure of confirmation to the very Marxian analysis of selective support of economic interests which they otherwise deny. That is, the strike was suddenly legitimate when it was used to further the economic interests of those with whom one was aligned. The left wing, meanwhile, turned out to support the strikebreakers.

One of the more remarkable findings of the study of 79 Swedish professors was that more than two-thirds of them stated that they supported the strike as a weapon in negotiations with the

government or with any employer. If we contrast this view with the attitudes of American professors on the role of a strike in negotiations with administrators or boards of governors, we can see the importance of the role of faculty organization. Professors in universities in the United States that are counterparts to the Swedish universities avoid unionism and generally believe it to be unprofessional. The American professor is more likely to see himself as an isolated atom whose individual professional destiny is determined by his individual effort and achievement (as indicated by his research and publications, for instance). His potential geographical and social mobility in the academic world is certainly much greater than that of the Swedish academic man, and this advantage serves as another of the many American barriers to collectivization and the creation of organizations for collective bargaining.

At the new university, Umeå, we can observe the purer form interplay between ideology, control, and structure.* Where immediate and decisive planning for explosive growth is built into the necessities of the educational enterpirse, it is clearer and more readily seen how the priorities get translated into real structures. At Umeå, it happened that the faculties of the natural sciences were shored up before the humanities faculties were.

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*Established in 1963 as a full university, Umeå had begun as a school of dentistry in 1955. However, it was not until 1966 that most of the present faculty were installed.

There are conflicting explanations among members of the administration as to whether this reflected a deliberate policy decision or whether it was a fortuitous development that just as easily could have unraveled in the opposite way. One is left with a strong impression that the government decided that the society needed the natural sciences more urgently than the humanities, that the demand for trained mathematicians and technicians in Sweden exceeded the demand for language scholars. Thus, in 1967, the physics, mathematics, and chemistry departments were already growing, while no professor had yet been appointed to head the institutes of German, French, or English.

One way to determine what a people regard as their primary and most important needs is to observe the way priorities are assigned at old and established institutions, even though the issue is sometimes clouded by the force of traditional habits that are at odds with urgencies that are presently felt. Uppsala University, established in 1477, has a set of practices rooted 500 years deep in the soil of tradition. At Uppsala, academic men can strengthen their arguments for resistance to change by invoking this tradition. They can argue that while to change is perhaps to increase efficiency, it is to destory something more valuable in a university--its unique quality, its character, its essence.

But at Umeå, there is no tradition. Professors there are confronted by a situation that is new and rootless, and they must persuade the hardheaded, age-of-reason central administrators of the

value of their requests. At Uppsala, for example, each department has its own laboratories, equipment, and facilities. Indeed, each institute which engages in experimentation with animals has its own stable for them and its own caretakers. A more rational or efficient system, the Umeå professors may argue, would be to centralize equipment and facilities that the various institutes use in common. The Uppsala professors are against a new system, of course, because things have not been done that way in the past. But the Umeå professors do not feel bound by the Uppsala tradition.*

Umeå began centralizing its facilities from the start. Organic chemists and microbiologists often work with the same kind of equipment, and rationality and efficiency won the argument. Although there was resistance by some of the academic men who were trained under different circumstances, it was difficult to confront reason with tradition at Umeå. Still, academic men at Umeå have been trained at the more traditional universities elsewhere in Sweden, and they have brought with them a certain sense of how things ought to be. Consequently, when the administration makes attempts at innovations, there is resistance among some of the oldliners.

The Chancellor's Office would like to see Umeå become a uni-

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*Because the primary purpose is to contrast the general ideology and approaches between Swedish and American higher educational control, we do not want to focus a great deal of attention on those differences that exist between various Swedish universities. Umea is contrasted with Uppsala only for the purpose of illustrating how certain ideological issues are purer in the new and developing institution.

versity with particular specialties and expertise in those features of life peculiar to the far northern climate in which Umeå is located. In the scholarly study of cultural life, for example, Umeå has been encouraged to establish a chair in the Lapp language, perhaps developing an institute for anthropological studies of Lapp culture in general. The administration would also like to see the natural life sciences specialize in the particular and peculiar features of life around Umeå. Chairs in zoology, for example, might take special interest in problems of hibernation.

But here one encounters the resistance of the academics trained elsewhere. They would prefer to have their disciplines rooted in strong central tradition because they fear that problem research in specialized areas might give some justification to a charge that Umeå is a second-class university serving second-class interests.

CHAPTER IV

STUDENTS AND GOVERNANCE: THE COMPARISON AND THE MODEL*

It is possible to identify two dominant views of the proper role of students at American universities. One view is summarized by Hook (1965) in the phrase "the right of students is the right to learn"; the second view asserts the right of students to participate in university governance (Brann, 1967; Robertson, 1967; Study Commission on University Governance, 1968). Many who hold the second view feel that such participation should not be limited to extracurricular matters. They demand student involvement in the formulation of educational policy and student participation in decisions on the nature and direction of the university itself.

Much of the debate on this issue appears to be premature--

*Several sections of this chapter have appeared in somewhat different form in the Encyclopedia of Education as "The Student Role in the Authority System of Higher Education," by T.F. Lunsford and T. Duster (1971). The sections are: "The American Student and University Governance"; "Authority Structure of the American University"; "Past Practices and Conceptions of Student Decision-making"; "New Demands for A Greater Student Voice"; "The New Militancy among Black Students"; and "White Radical Students."

not because the debate categorically rejects or affirms student rights, but because another issue must be raised and resolved before meaningful discussion can proceed. The question of whether or not students should be directly represented in the governing councils of the university can be answered more fully after discussion of whether there are important differences of interests between students and those who now govern. If there are important differences, we can then turn to the question of whether the student interests should have representation.

In the United States both faculty and administrators have typically denied or minimized the presence of separate and conflicting student interests. Faculty members have taken it for granted that what is good for them is good for students, and administrators, with a professional proclivity for accommodation, have been as much committed to an ideology of harmony of interests as the faculty. The university is viewed either as a voluntary scholarly community or as a rational bureaucracy, but rarely as a conflict model (Lunsford, 1968).

This chapter will examine these matters more closely.

SYSTEM REWARDS AND THE INTERESTS OF FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATION

To speak of the "interests of the faculty" does not necessarily imply that the faculty is a simple homogeneous group. There is great diversity, with clear differences, for example, both within and between the engineering, law, and medical faculties and

the humanities and social science faculties about the role of teaching, relations between faculty and students, and other matters. However, the major drift of rewards that accrue to the faculty has been in one direction, and this drift affects the professors of art, music, drama, classical languages, and medieval English no less than it affects the professors of physics, engineering, and microbiology. Every commentator on the scene agrees that the system rewards go to the specialist and researcher, not to the generalist and teacher. This situation is to be contrasted with the notion of personal rewards, since a professor can surely obtain a great deal of personal satisfaction from having his teaching well received by bright and enthusiastic students. Indeed, he may get personal satisfaction from doing an excellent bit of research and having it published in a major journal in his field. But those who are part of a social system tend to be most responsive to success as it is defined in that system. Thus I will argue that it is legitimate to speak of the "interests of the faculty" to the degree that we can identify a major system of rewards.

Occasional mavericks aside, the faculty at most large American universities share very definite career concerns. These have to do with such prosaic matters as promotion, success in one's field, and tenure on the job--three matters that revolve around the single and simple measure of one's publication records. There is

nothing new in the characterization of the major modern university as possessed and distressed by the publication devil who is impatient with those elements of life which get in the way of publishing--students and teaching. The situation has reached the point, however, where a faculty recruiter can openly try to lure a prospective colleague to his campus with an inviting wink and a remark that "he hadn't seen an undergraduate in two years." (My own experience confirms this statement: When I had just finished my graduate training, I was interviewed by a recruiter from a major university, who explicitly used this argument as a lure from one professional to another.) There is nothing new in either the public rhetoric which deplores this condition or the public practice of rewarding it with the Nobel prize (or its equivalent in other disciplines), while for scores of reasons, no such parallel is imaginable on the teaching side of the profession.

In the abstract, of course, good research and good teaching are not incompatible, and there is a widely shared belief that in some fields one cannot be a good teacher unless he is a good researcher. The argument can be misleading, however, for some take it to mean that because there is not necessarily incompatibility there is no problem. If incentives and rewards for research and teaching were more equal, the balance in the emphasis and efforts of the faculty would be more even. But since all of the system rewards are on the research side, heterogeneity among the faculty is rendered less important for determining the direction in which

the faculty in general has been moving and will be moving.

What of the administration? Can we speak of its "interests"? The administration is, in one sense, more homogeneous than the faculty and, in another, more heterogeneous. It is more homogeneous in that all administrators are engaged in a bureaucratic work situation that has as its central task the management of the affairs of others in the university. There is little room for the eccentric, and there is little reward for innovation. The organization man is a more likely figure in administration than any place else in the university. At the same time, the administration is more heterogenous than the faculty because of the clearly different "classes" of persons in the bureaucracy. Even the most junior faculty member is regarded as a colleague by the most senior member, and the junior member may engage the senior member as an intellectual equal (indeed, inferior) in the discourse of his own field--or in politics, the arts, life. That is not so in administration. There, status and communication lines carry more clearly with the office. Lower echelon administrators act as if they are a different social breed from the clerical workers, and neither lunches with such persons as the division heads, the deans, the assistant deans, or the special assistants to the chancellors and presidents.

Still, it serves an analytic purpose to talk of "the administration and its interests" as a general phenomenon capable of being identified and isolated from the students and the faculty

along very important lines. Just as the organization of rewards for the faculty produces for them a dominant interest in publishing, so there is a dominant reference point of rewards for administration. In a bureaucracy, the most certain path to promotion and organizational success is compliance with the orders of one's line superior. The rewards go to that right combination of the ability to follow orders and to work efficiently, and to do both with the proper attitude. The structure of authority makes the administrator responsible to those at the top who make decisions. Those decisions reflect the view that the university ought to be run in an efficient, productive, low-cost, well-organized, and moral manner (Beck, 1947; Duster, 1967).

Given the direction in which the two are now moving, I see no fundamental or systematic interest conflict between faculty and administration. The two groups operate in different spheres that intersect occasionally, but the reward system for one is not the obverse side of the reward system for the other. They have, for the most part, very significantly different interests, though they may occasionally conflict over matters of resource allocation, priority, and the like.

However, to the extent that the faculty moves further and further along the road toward increasing careerism, professionalism, and specialization, conflicts will be fewer and fewer. For example, the administrator is accountable to his superiors in the line organization of his bureaucracy. This preoccupation with

accountability orients him toward the faculty and students in such a way that he is concerned with clear products--the number of Woodrow Wilson Fellows, the proportion of students who enter graduate school, the number of journal articles, etc. If the faculty has the same "interest" in seeing this proportion high (as would a faculty of careerists), then conflict in this whole area is mitigated. Of course, some faculty hold a primary view of education as a broadening, humanizing experience. In such cases it is difficult to account for success in clear, empirical, and precise terms. For example, an important reformist document by a student-faculty committee at Berkeley, the Report of the Study Commission on University Governance (1968), has this to say about the subject:

> The inertia of our institutions and our lack of a rooted tradition of educational innovation have had a paradoxical result: they have led to a brave and unwarranted complacency, as though the campus truly believed its official rhetoric that this is a 'great university,' the peer of any institution of higher learning in the world. We are skeptical, however, that a count of Nobel prize winners, the high national rating of graduate departments, or the presence of a distinguished faculty provide conclusive measures of a university's greatness. These attributes do not in themselves represent a university's ultimate goals, but rather means toward achieving them. In our view, the most important single goal of a university, and therefore the best measure of its excellence, is the intellectual growth of its students: their initiation into the life of the mind, their commitment to the use of reason in the resolution of problems, their development of both technical competence and intellectual integrity [pp. 7-8].

Such a view of the importance of the university experience involves a greater interest conflict and then where the faculty is concerned with

the publicly accountable character of its own product.

In this chapter there is a purposeful de-emphasis of the differences and conflicts between faculty and administration. That subject has already been discussed, and it bears less directly upon the emergence of concerns for student interests. Whereas the faculty and the administration confront each other only incidentally and occasionally, the faculty confronts the students systematically.

THE INTERESTS OF STUDENTS

The question has already been raised: Is what is good for the faculty good for the students? Another question can just as easily be posed: Is what is good for administrators good for students? Answers are not forthcoming until we examine what it is that can be identified as "student interests."

Of the three groups which make up the university--students, faculty, and administrators--students are overwhelmingly the largest in number, and certainly they are the most heterogeneous. Their heterogeneity is greater along almost every dimension. On the surface of a social profile, they are more mixed than either faculty or administrators with respect to social class, sex, ethnicity, and (probably) political proclivity. There is one exception: students are relatively homogeneous with regard to age, which, of course, has important consequences for their "interests." Both the faculty and the administration are composed far more exclusively of white males with a middle-class life style, if not ideology. But perhaps the most significant aspect of the heterogeneity of students lies in

the wide variance of interests and visions of what is possible in their own lives. Students, relatively speaking, are an uncommitted lot. Both the faculty and the administration are many times over more committed to the university as an established institution. It is for them much more of an end and a way of life. For the student, it is more of a means, a way station, a plan for delaying or stalling, a place for the construction and resolution of possibilities and decisions about the future. Most students believe that they will leave the university after a few years.

The faculty recognize this fact. Their predominantly professional orientation leads them to regard teaching time as a time for recruiting young committed physicists or chemists or psychologists into the profession. Accordingly, for example, the faculty tends to deprecate general survey courses. The lowest or newest or most unfortunate colleague is saddled with teaching those students whose level of specialized commitment to the field of inquiry is problematic. This situation reflects not an incidental but a systematic interest difference. It is systematic in the sense that it is a perpetual and integral part of the way in which the professor conceives of the relationship between himself and the student, and the difference will become greater with greater professionalism.

Because the level of commitment for students is far less than for faculty and administration, it makes far less sense to identify student interests by identifying the formal system of

rewards. Of course, we might choose to view student interests in terms of the formal criteria of academic success, high grades and the achievement of the degree. If we make that choice we will see little cause for differences or conflict. But the student revolt of the 1960s has been based at least partially on the disjunction between the formal social organization of rewards in the university and something which I will leave momentarily undefined as "student interests." Neither the faculty nor the administration has expressed as much disagreement or impatience with its reward system. There is, of course, the annual rhetoric of the college president and the commencement speaker about the importance of teaching and character building and independence. But few faculty and administrators seriously attempt to shift rewards away from publishing toward teaching or to mitigate in loco parentis in favor of greater student independence and control. Those who do, at least, are not currently in the vanguard of the great universities.

To put it another way, the most respected elements among faculty and administrators are not mounting anything like a revolt against the present structure of the university. Quite the opposite: they act to bring the university farther along the segmentalized, compartmentalized, and professionalized path it has been traveling.

In contrast, the clear tendency is for student leaders to question and challenge the existing structure of control as, most charitably put, increasingly neglectful of the student voice. This is true not only of the militant, vociferous New Left on the campus,

but also of student body presidents in major universities who were once unashamedly the handmaidens of the deans of students (Brann, 1967; Robertson, 1967). It is true not only for those who can claim to be leaders on the grounds of their political persuasiveness or charisma, but also for those student leaders with formal positions of leadership.

While it has been possible to identify and to speak generally of the interests of both the faculty and the administration, the greater heterogeneity of students compounds the difficulty of making even the grossest characterization of "student interests" in the same sense. Many females, for example, see their primary "interest" in the undergraduate years as getting husbands. Dividing students into the four subcultures that Clark and Trow (1963) have suggested, it is easy to see how wide the divergence is between and among students. The "intellectual interests" of bohemian students and activists are not served by the same development as are those of the fraternity-sorority groups.

In identifying the interests of faculty and administrators I have pointed to the social organization of rewards available to each. It is fruitless to attempt the task of identifying a similar one-dimensional reward system for students. I will attempt, instead, to abstract something called "student interests" by identifying the quest of students for "citizenship," or <u>the right to present their interests whatever they may be</u>. In suggesting that the relationship between faculty and administration is increasingly

accommodative, I have tried to illustrate how the rewards accruing to one did not detract from the rewards accruing to the other. In fact, one might posit a positive complementarity between the two: the more the faculty "put out" in a factory-like way, the better the administration is able to account to its superiors, be they a board of governors, legislators, the general public, or alumni. The situation is quite different, however, between faculty and students, and the notion of complementarity gives way to something akin to a "zero-sum" game--a situation where more for one side means less for the other.

An example can be found in the way the faculty, as professionals, invest themselves in the teaching and recruiting of departmental majors who provide a professional payoff. Contrast this situation with the situation that exists between faculty and administration. It is not true that success for the faculty systematically, or even usually, diminishes success for the administration. It is not true that promotions in the administrative ranks get in the way of the faculty members' publishing and promotion. With students, however, whether they want more time for play or guided work, or whether they want more freedom for filling that time, they are in systematic conflict with the two groups who have almost everything to say about these matters.

THE QUEST FOR CITIZENSHIP

I shall attempt to explain why students have begun to iden-

tify and separate their interests from those of the faculty and the administration--and will continue to do so in the future--and why they will increasingly aspire to representation of their interests. Conceptual tools drawn from studies of political communities are pertinent.

In Tocqueville's analysis of the great transformation in the social and political structure of western Europe from feudalism to capitalism, he attempts to explain how and why the servant classes rebelled. Bendix (1964) presents a succinct summary of Tocqueville's explanation:

> Tocqueville does not attempt to predict the final outcome of the tendencies he discerns or to explain away ideas by reference to some ultimate determinant like the organization of production. He seeks to account for the frame of mind in which servants reject the "rules of the game" on which the established society is founded. To do this he formulates a theory of crisis in the relations of master and servants: (1) in an earlier condition the socially inferior person possesses a recognized status. . .; (2) in the crisis of transition the masters retain their privileges but no longer perform their functions, while the servants retain their obligation but perceive new opportunities; (3) in consequence the servants consider that the traditional claims of their status have been abrogated unilaterally and/or that they are now entitled to an equality of rights with all other social ranks, since in his capacity as a citizen every man is the equal of every other.
>
> Tocqueville's theory of crisis in "domestic government" refers to the master's evasion of "his obligation to protect and to remunerate," but then gives special attention to the ideas of equality which elicit and shape the lower-class protest that initiates the "age of democratic revolution [p.54]."

In such an analysis, heterogeneity within the mass is specifically neglected for the purpose of speaking to the matter that made the

lower and servant classes commonly share a given station--their disenfranchisement and their social and political vulnerability to the whim and caprice of the aristocracy or the landed classes. To enter into an examination of the myriad differences of subsidiary groups, subcultures, or nations is to derail the analysis; what is required is an overview of the common interest of those groups in the achievement of political power to be wielded in whatever manner chosen. The substantive interests of groups may change over time, but the fact of ascension to political position for the purpose of carrying out those interests is less subject to variance.

I, too, am concerned with explicating the general form of a relationship. Although I realize that all analogies, including an analogy between a civic community and a university, must be qualified, I believe that with proper caution a political model can serve a useful and analytic purpose. In such an analogy, the faculty and the administration may be said to have "citizenship" in the university community while students do not. The analogy further suggests the reason for shifting the identification of student interests to the quest for citizenship.

Tocqueville, in analyzing the development of the emergence of universal citizenship in the political community, spells out the earliest relationship between the subordinate and the superordinate as one in which the former held a view of the traditional obligations being met by the latter. In the university, this might parallel the traditional view of the learning experience: the student would view

the tutorial session, the seminar, the discussion session with the professor, or any other exchange with the professor, as obligations which the professor honored. The professor's commitments would be to the local scene and to the tutelage of students in the local university community. Then, as Bendix (1964) says, "in the crisis of transition, the masters retain their privileges but no longer perform their functions, while the servants retain their obligations but perceive new opportunities. In the university situation, one version of this would be the professor's retaining his privileges without performing the functions which the students had come traditionally to expect. In the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, a recurrent theme--in both the student rhetoric and in expressions of guilt by some of the faculty--was that the faculty had abandoned the students to pursue "faculty interests [Lipset & Wolin, 1965, pp. 303-366]."

Many faculty believe that there is no virtue in, or commitment to, the democratic process within the halls of academia. The university is not a polity, they argue, and students are there to acquire skills and to learn. Others maintain that while the greater society is a democracy, this in no sense requires that the political structure of the university itself should be democratic. Democracies have armies, but that does not mean that the political structure or authority of the army must be democratic, they say. But this construction merely begs the question with which students increasingly confront the administration: Who has the right to make

the rules in the university?

Haunted by a Latin American image of student participation in university governance, administrators and some faculty express their fears of the probable consequences of student power: students will not know when to stop, will be excessive in their demands; students will try to institute democracy in the classrooms and in the dormitories; and because of their greater numbers, students will win all the battles. I shall return in a moment to the question of administrators' models of student participation. But first, the appropriateness of the citizenship analogy should be demonstrated by applying it to the relationship between students and policymaking administrators.

Very recently at the Berkeley campus of the University of California a dispute arose between the student government and the administration over control of the student budget. Simultaneously there was a conflict over whether graduate students were eligible to vote in student elections. In November, 1967, the student government held an election and permitted graduate students to vote. (Radical Left students won office--a fact which I will leave without comment even though it influenced subsequent events, for the student government allocated funds to supply bail money to students arrested in demonstrations against the Selective Service System.) The Chancellor not only voided the elections and ruled that new elections would have to be held, but he also removed the funds of the student government from their control. He moved to set up a new

board to handle the student funds and also suggested that membership in the student union might be made voluntary (Daily Californian, January 10, 1968).

Student leaders responded defiantly. They seated elected students who had been suspended from the university by the Chancellor, and they carried on student government as if the elections had not been voided. Further, they retained an attorney to challenge the administration's removal of their control of student funds (Daily Californian, January 11, 1968).

In this case, the conflict of interests between students and administrators can be couched in terms of an aspiration to citizenship. The Chancellor ruled that he could void the elections because he was acting in his authoritative capacity, and the students, he said, had violated the universitywide rules which prohibited graduate students from voting in elections. The students countered in a way that can only be interpreted as a challenge to the very authority upon which the Chancellor based his actions by raising the question: Who is it who has a right to set the rules at the university? Once that question is posed by a body which has traditionally complied with the rules, it makes explicit a skepticism about the legitimacy to govern that is at the foundation of the social order. It means that students see an abrogation of their rights,and they move to insure that they have some voice in constructing the rules of the university community.

Discussing Weber's (1947) concept of authority, Bendix

(1964) points out the necessity to

> distinguish between social relations (such as the supply-and-demand relation on a market) that are maintained by the reciprocity of expectations, and others that are maintained through orientation toward and exercise of authority. The latter orientation typically involves a belief in the existence of a legitimate order. Identifiable persons maintain that order through the exercise of authority.
>
> This order endures as long as the conception of its legitimacy is shared by those who exercise authority and those who are subject to it. In addition, a legitimate order depends upon an organizational structure maintained by the persons who exercise authority and claim legitimacy for this exercise.
>
> The shared conception of a legitimate order and the persons in formal organizations who help to maintain that order through the exercise of authority constitute a network of social relations which differs qualitatively from the social relationships arising out of a "coalescence of interests." In this way actions may arise from the "legitimate order" and effect the pursuit of interests in the society, just as the latter has multiple effects upon the exercises of authority. Throughout his work Weber insists that this interdependence of all social conditions must be recognized, but that at the same time the scholar must make distinctions such as that between a "coalescence of interests" and a "legitimate order" of authority, arbitrary as such distinctions inevitably are [pp. 16-17].

Thus, when students begin to question the legitimacy of the social order of the university, they shift to a view that the university should be a "coalescence of interests." Such a shift means that the students want their own representation in the control of that order.

At the outset I have said that whether student interests should have representation is dependent upon the identification of those interests and the determination of whether or not they are

different from, or perhaps even in conflict with, the interests of the faculty and the administration. Without even considering the content of the interests of the students, we can say that the very assertion of the students' right to enter into decisionmaking and policy matters constitutes a quest for citizenship. In historical perspective, I have implied that a significant source of the burgeoning student quest for citizenship, or for an authoritative voice in the construction of policy of the university, lies in a reaction to the increasing professionalism of faculty and administration.

THE AMERICAN STUDENT AND UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In thirteenth century Europe, which saw creation of the first studia generale, the precursors of modern Western universities, students were typically of a different age and social station. One concept of the university developed at Bologna, where students for many years controlled degree requirements, teaching conditions, and professorial compensation. Most of these students were adults, from well-to-do families, and members of clerical orders. Moreover, they were mostly foreigners, drawn by the reputations of great teachers, to study in an autonomous southern city-state at a time when collective solidarity provided one of the few safeguards against robbery, bodily harm, and lesser forms of social exploitation. Hence, they organized themselves into "nations," largely according to their places of origin, to establish and protect their rights. It was a

shifting coalition of these "nations" that for more than two centuries held power in the famous school of law at Bologna (Rashdall, 1936).

The major American colleges, by contrast, were begun on a model of a different sort--the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, where sons of the English nobility were selected and sponsored, tutored in the classics, and made ready for positions of leadership in the Church of England and Parliament. During the long evolution from this model to the complex, modern American campus, with its graduate and professional schools and its service extensions to many parts of the society, this basically tutorial and custodial approach to students has never been altered.

AUTHORITY STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

To understand the developing role of students in the authority structure of today's American university, it is necessary to take a closer look at that authority structure as a whole. Legally, most universities and colleges in the United States are corporations. We have seen how powers of organization and management typically are vested by law in a governing board of citizens who are appointed by political officials, elected by popular vote, or (in the case of certain private university corporations) selected by incumbent board members. By tradition, such boards are supposed to confine themselves to settling broad matters of university policy and to acting as buffers between the campus and the winds of popular opinion. The conduct of day-to-day operations is said to be

the province of a president appointed by the board, administrative officers whom the president appoints with board approval, and a senate composed of regular faculty members of their elected representatives. In fact, the powers formally delegated by university boards of control vary widely, and delegations typically are vague and changeable in their scope. Many boards retain substantial operating vetoes over major faculty appointments, the creation or change of research and instructional programs, and administrative regulations governing student conduct; on occasion they render decisions about detailed matters of campus operations. In the more prestigious universities, faculty senates and individual departmental faculties have substantial de facto control over degree requirements, the content of courses offered, and methods of teaching. Even such matters are subject, however, to the broad formal authority of the university president, who must review faculty recommendations before they are presented to the ultimate authority of the governing board.

All powers of participation in university governance, then, are in legal theory held by the governing board and may be delegated by it to administrators, faculties, and students. No other sources of legal authority exist.

PAST PRACTICES AND CONCEPTIONS OF STUDENT DECISIONMAKING

In practice, no more than a handful of American universities and colleges has allowed formal participation of students in decisions about academic or administrative appointments, budgets, degree requirements, course contents, teaching methods, physical facilities,

or long-range institutional plans. A few campuses have involved students in the formulation and enforcement of student-conduct regulations. But in almost all cases where students have been involved in decision, their role has been advisory, consisting of the right to have some students' voices heard before official decisions are made.

The limited role of students in university governance has been supported in the past by a prevalent conception of the student as occupying, "by definition, the status of learners" (Gallagher, 1965). Students have been seen as essentially incompetent to participate in important decisions about the organization and programs of the university itself, outside the narrow scope of extracurricular student affairs. The status of student has typically connoted lack of knowledge and maturity, transience as campus residents, uncertain identity, the ever-present possibility of impulsive and irrational behavior, personal lack of social responsibility, and "adolescent" tendencies to reject all authority as symbolic of parental controls (Feuer, 1969).

The student role in university governance has been almost entirely confined to voting and holding office in a student government with limited powers over certain areas of student extracurricular activity, under the informal surveillance of faculty and administration "advisors," and within conditional delegations from campus administrators. Such student governments have in the past held formal operating control of substantial student-owned enterprises, such as bookstores and other concessions, as well as

budgetary power over compulsory student activities fees. So long as there was no conflict with administrative deans, students were allowed to run the school newspaper, allocate funds to charities and summer camps, and set the dates, times, and places of school dances. Even in this area, however, no real authority for final decisionmaking was granted to students.

NEW DEMANDS FOR A GREATER STUDENT VOICE

The traditional authority structure of the American university, with affluent businessmen in control of governing boards delegating authority to administrators and faculty, was a viable thing when it went hand in hand with student apathy about university governance. For many years, the fraternity part and the Saturday football game seemed to leave little student interests or energy for involvement in the greater social issues. But events of the last decade have informed us that university students, far from passively accepting traditional forms, have been close to the vanguard of those demanding change both in universities and in society. The draft of young men for an unpopular war in Vietnam and the urgency of flames from the ghetto revolts have refocused some student energies and interests.

The current demand for student participation in governance, therefore, is not merely some newfound fascination with participation for its own sake. Many students feel that they cannot accept the trend of events in the university or in the society. They seek to participate in decisionmaking because they believe we

must have change, not simply because of some compulsive desire to wield power.

In the contemporary university, the highest level of expertise in a particular academic discipline is generally restricted to those who can lay claim to being productive research scholars. The more extensive an academic's research scholarship in comparison to that of his colleagues, the greater his claim to authority. This situation has helped produce a limited conception of the academic enterprise--limited, that is, to a single hierarchy of knowledge within each field of inquiry and a corresponding single hierarchy of experts and authority and prestige in the academy.

The challenge to the authority structure of the university comes simultaneously from sources that would like to return the university to a more traditional model of humanistic teaching and from sources that would turn to new authorities on new and still emergent bodies of knowledge.

Students have many different interests and are of varied political persuasions. While it is misleading to talk of "the new student," it is possible in this period of transition to identify three major sources of the thrust for student involvement in university governance: the new militancy among black students, white radical students, and moderate educational reformers.

The New Militancy Among Black Students

The militancy of black students who demand participation in decisionmaking at the university is a reflection of the militancy

of blacks in the larger society. The "black power" movement demands black control of autonomous black communities, although there are some ambiguities about the nature of the autonomy. The militant black students mirror this development in the demand for black control of the autonomous black curriculum. Black studies programs and departments are being demanded in many parts of the country, by blacks and for blacks. The charge is made that whites have had a different world experience, that a different world view and perspective are intrinsic to those who are part of a slaveholding class for 250 years.

Black students are also demanding for themselves a dominant role in the creation and shaping of these new programs. There are two major reasons for this. First, there are very few black faculty members in the country, and at any single institution (outside of black Southern colleges) their number is infinitesimal. Second, these few black faculty members tend to be economically and/or institutionally more committed than many black students to the existing university structure. They are correctly seen by these students as less likely to demand reform.

Some black students are challenging fundamental notions about the study of the black community and the black experience in America. They argue that study of the black community either has been neglected or has been done only partially or superficially by observers who study from afar with the mailed questionnaire and the academic perspective. Thus, these students argue, there is no

legitimate hierarchy of knowledge about black economic, political, and cultural institutions that could justify domination and control of decisionmaking about a black studies curriculum by a faculty or administration--white or black.

These students charge that even those few scholars who have studied black communities are middle-class professionals who have no real understanding of the lives of people living in those communities. University faculty members are chosen and promoted on the basis of thier research publications in scholarly journals. Their analyses are written for and read by the national community of scholars, not the local black community. Yet the theme which runs most clearly throughout the new rhetoric of the militant black students is the notion of the connection with the local black community. Consider the following statement by Ray Brown, a black student at Columbia, quoted by Donadio (1968):

> I would say that black students at this university have demonstrated that they view themselves essentially as an extension of the black community and that their primary identity is with the black community and not with the university community. . . . In that sense. . .there are certain obvious things that differentiate them from white students, who will generally, I suppose, view themselves primarily as members of an academic community [p. 73].

Notice that similar language is found in the statement of a black student leader from across the country at San Francisco State College, also quoted by Donadio:

> College students of the ethnic minority groups are not merely students wrapped up in some type of educational cocoon but are an extension of their community.

And Vernon Dixon (1968), writing in Negro Digest, summarizes the position as follows:

> Thus, for a significant number of black university and college students, the prime concern is how to relate to the brothers in the street. Unfortunately, to a large extent, the process of analyzing the question occurs within an academic and social structure erected on the white experience. By definition, in such an environment, the black student does not find any major institutional support for his evolving black consciousness (awareness, acceptance, articulation, and development of the black experience), so vital to completing the framework for resolving the question [p. 29].

These views carry significance even beyond their immediate contest, for the door through which students will pass to obtain access to decisionmaking in the university may well be the emerging black studies departments. Because there are so few black faculty members with commitment to the development of education centered on the black community and the black experience, the new breed of black-conscious students must assume leadership roles in these new programs. As they have already done at Harvard, Yale, and Cornell, they will sit on committees that determine curriculum development, and they will increasingly review and approve the hiring of new faculty.

Historically, innovations at Harvard have had repercussions at colleges and universities across the country, and an event of some significance for the development of student participation occurred at Harvard in the spring of 1969. The faculty of arts and sciences decided to permit black students voting membership on a committee to

select most of the faculty for the newly created black studies department. This was the first time students had ever been given a direct, formal voice in the selection of faculty at Harvard. Among the faculty who voted against the decision were those who argued explicitly that the move would establish an undesirable precedent for other departments.

The precedent may turn out to be important not only for the other segments of the Harvard faculty, but for faculties and administrations at other institutions of higher education as well. It will prove difficult to argue persuasively against student participation in decisionmaking on the grounds of preservation of either tradition or standards when the nation's traditional standard of excellence in higher education--Harvard--has made so public a move.

Such developments do not go unnoticed by radical white students and educational reformers. This development may be a source of continuing student unrest on the major campuses of the country, for students will look to the success of the blacks as a model for participation. The degree to which universities will grant participation to one group of students and not another will reveal the degree to which the issues in the struggle are political and strategic, not principled and categorical.

White Radical Students

While the more active and militant of the black students who seek greater involvement in university governance are concerned primarily with using the university to change the condition of blacks in the larger society, the radical white students are concerned

with using the university to change the whole structure of the larger society. While the most frequently heard battle cry of the blacks at the university is for self-determination and autonomy in the control of their own destinies and their own institutions, the call of the white radicals is for basic changes in the organization of the polity and the economy.

Unlike some of its political forebears, the New Left in its early years has been a diverse and nondoctrinaire movement. Still, its constituents do share a commitment to some form of increased popular control over economic life. For these students, the university is simply one battleground in a protracted struggle against The System. Thus, the university may be their momentary focus for reasons that are strategic, but reform or change of the university itself is not their ultimate goal. This theme runs throughout statements by student radicals, as the following examples show:

> We want free universities, and there can be no free universities in an unfree society. All the current universities feed off the system in terms of government grants and investments in big corporations. In return, they are set up to channel manpower into the system. We feel we have to shift the emphasis of the university and stop the educational process from designing people to fit into the system. We want to promote change by developing students trained to be critical of what they see and to continually seek the new and better [Vaughn, 1968, p. 64].

> What would happen to a manipulative society if its means of creating manipulable people were done away with? The answer is that we might then have a fighting chance to change that system [Davidson, 1967, p. 6].

> The roots of the critical university lie in our fights for our liberated zones against university participation in oppression. But the restructur-

> ing of the present university must not and can not occur apart from a radical restructuring of our society [Radical Student Union, 1969, p. 4].

While the white radical students' aim has been primarily political and social change in the larger society, their impact on the campus has given new impetus to movements for educational reform and student participation in formal governing processes. In the first major student uprising of recent times, the 1964 Free Speech Movement (FSM) at Berkeley, the explicit issues were mainly concerned with rights of political expression on campus. However, the publicity attending the FSM gave visibility to many allied criticisms by students and faculty members--large universities' impersonality, vocationalism, lack of relevant courses, and prevailing disinterest in undergraduate education generally.

The FSM showed that students acting collectively can bring considerable pressure to bear on university faculty and administrators. This pressure also helped to produce new interests in legitimated and regularized forms of student power to be exerted on faculty and administration committees, in student advisory councils, and in informal student opinion. Results of these changes are, so far, very mixed and tentative; there is too little experience to indicate clearly the trend of events to come.

Moderate Educational Reformers

A third group of students is mainly concerned with the effect of official decisions on educational programs. The activity of many of these students predates the current political protests,

but it has received new impetus from them.

Taking seriously the ideal of a higher learning designed to liberate the individual, these students see the need for major rethinking of the courses and teaching relationships that exist today in its name. Central among the demands of most student educational reformers is "relevance." In general, this term means closer and more tangible ties of classroom lectures and readings to the personal concerns of individual students and to the social and political issues of the day.

The achievement of relevance in the classroom is unlikely, many students now believe, unless students themselves take greater initiative and have more power in designing and conducting their own education. On a number of campuses students have created movements for "participatory education" which work to encourage student-initiated courses, share information about student-run education elsewhere, search out faculty members to sponsor student-developed courses, negotiate with academic departments to grant degree credit for student-led study, and mobilize student volunteers to teach, compile reading lists, and help evaluate other students' papers. It is a major tenet of such groups that active involvement in one's own education is integral to learning--an echo of the axiom that to learn something well, one must teach it. This view is accompanied by the conviction that faculty members do not know all there is to learn--especially about subjects in which students are most interested. Neither are they competent to dictate what it is that stu-

dents should learn--as is made clear in the proposals of some student leaders at the University of California at Berkeley (Brown & Associates, 1968):

> The larger institutions tend to see liberal education as a mold into which all students are "poured," a model which usually is in fact general education. The most problematic element in this model is that it regards the student as basically inert material, to be formed and developed by the system in accord with the prevailing view of what the student should know when he has successfully negotiated that system. Our view of the student differs fundamentally in that we see him as dynamic, as capable of developing himself, of determining his own individuality. Our concept of liberal education explicitly rejects the notion that there is any single model, any particular model, any university program that should be required of all students. . . .
>
> Requirements of content tend to preclude the achievement of the goals of the system, the development of autonomy, self-motivation, and creative and critical thinking [p. 11].

The growing acceptance among students of the view that each is capable of developing himself in emotional matters goes hand in hand with more subtle and informal--but equally consequential—changes that are beginning to alter student-teacher relations in the modern classroom. Especially in occupational courses and specialized curricula, but also in courses designated as "liberal" or "general" education, the professor has been king. As the student has been the learner--identified by his lack of knowledge and his desire to overcome this lack--so the professor has been the teacher--with knowledge to impart in the form of information, analytical strategies, skills of reasoning, and techniques of discovering insights or verifying conclusions. Today such a clear,

asymmetrical model shows signs of breaking down.

An increasingly influential number of students, both graduate and undergraduate, are insisting that teaching and learning be drastically redefined. Some aspire merely to be treated as junior colleagues in a process of shared inquiry, not as ignorant and passive vessels to be filled with facts and skills. But a potentially powerful voice among students is questioning the whole cognitive orientation of academic learning--the assumption that higher learning is necessarily intellectual, conceptual, abstract. For these students, knowledge as an external object is a false goal. The proper end of learning is knowledge as a part of the free and integrated individual, not artificially separated from his personal values, actions, and emotions. This view poses quite basic challenges to the prevailing tradition of academic learning, which concentrates on timeless, verified conclusions. The implied challenge to professors' intellectual authority can have dramatic consequences for the social and legal relations between teacher and students in the classroom. This challenge now runs far beyond the complex opposition of black and white experiences and touches a substantial minority of young people of all backgrounds.

Today, in many major American institutions, students over 21 years of age are in the majority. Many are married, have children, and work to earn all or part of their livelihood. Many, in an increasing minority, are acquainted with cultures outside the United States or have travelled widely and have been politically

involved at many places within this country. Many have had rich social and political experiences.

These students now attend universities and colleges in unprecedented numbers, amid a growing American awareness that institutions of higher education control access to most positions carrying occupational and cultural rewards. Moreover, students are now more than ever aware that universities have turned their main attention from undergraduate education to graduate instruction, to contract research, and to service programs for government and industry.

American students interested in change can look to the model of collective bargaining by American industrial workers, to the political activism of students in many other countries, and to the politically effective use of collective civil disobedience by young black Americans during the early civil rights struggle in the South. Their own semi-spontaneous uprisings over the Vietnam war, free speech on the campus, and increased opportunity for racial and ethnic communities have had substantial effects on the nation's course in recent years.

Against this background, it will not be surprising if organized action for collective power as students on their campuses becomes a distinctive part of American student life in the decades to come. An important feature of the development along these lines will be determined by the selection of a model (or models) of collective participation or action. It is to this problem that we now turn, describing and interpreting selected aspects of the

Swedish experience with student unionism, and finally returning to a discussion of the elements of that model which seem importable, or applicable, to the American situation.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL SWEDISH STUDENT UNION (SFS)

The seat of student power in Sweden is the formally organized union of students at each of the five universities, plus the national federation of these and other unions, Sveriges Förenade Studentkårer (SFS). Membership and fees are compulsory, by national law, so there is a base of about 75,000 students. The union is independent of faculty or government control; students collect the fees and administer the funds collected. The interests of the typical student in the affairs of the union is not very great, despite the fact that the local and national unions make policy which touches upon all facets of student life. A small core of the interested and committed dedicate themselves to performing the organizational tasks, while the vast majority simply pay their dues and neither know nor care about the union's activities or structure.

The Swedish Constitution not only makes membership in the union compulsory for students, it also empowers the union assembly to tax the membership and to set the level of fees. The SFS has both direct lines to the government, through the Ministry of Education and the Parliament, and a working relationship with the Chancellor of the Universities. Any major change in the university structure would be unworkable without the consent of the Union. In addition to its role as the overseer of student interests in policy

matters at the highest governmental level, the union, among a variety of other functions, owns and builds student housing, finances health plans and health services, and handles the entry and registration of students.

Once a year representatives from the local unions meet in a national Assembly for a period of four days. The Assembly is the highest decisionmaking body, and it deals almost exclusively with matters of national scope. Local matters are almost always left to the local unions. There is proportional representation to the Assembly, with one elected representative for every 800 members of a local. Uppsala University, which has the largest local with 16,000 members, is thus allotted 20 representatives.

The Assembly elects an Executive Council of twelve members, which meets once a month during the academic year, and which is authorized to act in the name of the Assembly between its annual meetings. Each of the five universities must have at least one member on the Executive Council.

In addition to the Executive Council, there are three councils elected to deal with substantive problems: an Education Council, an International Council, and an Economic-Social Council. While these councils have only formal advisory status, they exercise considerable influence on decisions, as we shall see.

Finally, there is the Secretariat, which consists of seven secretaries and their assistants: there are two Education Secretaries, a Secretary for Information, an International Secretary,

a Social Secretary, a Secretary for Organization, and a Secretary General. The secretaries are full-time paid employees of the national union. Their functions vary with their substantive concerns, but they share the common task of keeping the general membership (but especially the councils) informed of developments in the respective fields, gathering documents and preparing summaries for general distribution, and generally fulfilling a funneling role for specific problems and issues that relate to each particular secretary's function.

This description of the structure of the union may become more intelligible if we look at the process by which the union comes to a decision on an important educational reform issue and passes on that decision to the government.

Let us take the example of the initiation of inquiries by the Ministry of Education regarding a setting of limits on the number of years student may be enrolled as an undergraduate and the length of time a student may pursue a single course of study. The Ministry of Education informs the SFS of the inquiry, and it gives the SFS, in a formal written memo, a limit of six months in which to submit a report stating the position of the union. Because the matter is controversial, the two Education Secretaries are charged with the responsibility of informing the relevant councils, the Secretary General, and the local unions. The Education Secretaries may themselves set an arbitrary time of four months and inform the local unions that they must submit written reports stating their

views within that time. (The Education Secretaries ordinarily handle more mundane matters themselves.) This will give the national Secretariat two months in which to digest, collate, and synthesize the local reports and submit a statement to the Education Council, which may make revisions and suggest changes, although these alterations are typically appended rather than substituted. If the representative Assembly convenes during this final period, it will vote directly on the matter; if not, the Executive Council will make a report to the Ministry.

In Sweden it is assumed that labor, commerce, and industrial interests have a heavy stake in higher education and that the views of these parties should be considered in any major reform. In the same way that the Ministry of Education asks the SFS to submit its views on possible legislation affecting university education, so it invites labor and business to make their opinions known before a proposal goes to Parliament for final action. If the executive leadership of the SFS determines that the issue is of sufficient significance, the union will set up a lobby. In this early stage, the lobby will deal directly with officials in labor and commerce, trying to persuade them of the value of the SFS views on the issue. The student union may also commission an investigation and a study by some of its own members, then publish the results in a forum to be picked up by the newspapers, in an effort to gain popular support. At the final stage of Parliamentary action, the SFS sponsors an effective lobby, and it has the right

to address the Parliament directly. While it is impossible to say that the SFS has any veto powers that would be explicitly acknowledged, the influence of the union is such that only once in the last decade has a bill passed Parliament when the SFS was not in agreement, and even in this case the disagreement was not strenuous.

It would be a mistake, however, to give the impression that the SFS reacts only to initiatives from the government. The local unions often investigate new areas of educational change and propose innovations to the national office.

There is a provision in Sweden for state subsidization of all studies beyond the secondary school system, making use of scholarships, loans, fellowships and grants. The SFS lobbies through the Social Secretary, to increase the number and amount of these subsidies. In the area of student housing, the SFS negotiates with the government on the amount of state support for construction, which is always done at the initiative of the union and under the control of the union. It is often the students in the local unions who oversee the architectual design of the buildings in which they are to live. In the areas of health and welfare, the SFS negotiates with the government for different forms of direct financial aid for such things as day care centers for the children of married students and subsidies for families.

During the current period of educational reform in Sweden, Parliament annually considers many bills that are intended to expand the possibility of university attendance for all who desire it.

The national student union has played a vital role in the deliberation of Parliamentary committees, and it has had a great influence on the vital legislation which has been passed in the last few years. This influence is a direct consequence of the capacity of Swedish students to relate to an institutional form of participation that is representative, and they are treated seriously by those who hold formal authority.

Until recently, the SFS leadership was made up of politically moderate or conservative students who might be known in the United States as "activity majors." Although the tasks and powers of the Swedish student official far exceeded those of their counterparts in American student governing boards and student unions, the two groups bore a remarkable resemblance to each other as social and political animals. In recent years, however, a double insurgency has affected the leadership in some of the Swedish local unions, and this has also been reflected in the national congresses. Leftist students have made a stronger bid for organizational office and have met with some success. While there is still a strong conservative bias among Swedish university students, owing to their predominantly upper- and middle-class origins, the disinterest and inactivity of the majority have permitted the activists of the Left to make themselves a very potent force. A second factor has been the rapidly increased enrollment which has created new organizational and administrative problems for the student unions and their problems have shaken the traditional structure. The rapid growth

has brought with it a demand for the rethinking and reshaping of old policy positions.

As we have seen, the local student unions actually operate and control the mechanisms of the registration of students, all university student housing, student building and recreational facilities, and food services. The functions performed in American universities by deans of students, deans of admission, and registrars are carried out in Sweden by the students through their union. There is no separate body known as administration as American students could identify it. This situation raises an interesting question for a comparative analysis of social order: What are the consequences of a given function, like housing, when different "structures" fulfill that function? It may be that the function is altered so dramatically that it can no longer be considered the same function. In any case, when the faculty, the administration, and the students define their interests in different ways, it matters mightily which one of them controls, say, the housing of students, faculty salaries, or promotion of administrators.

Student influence on educational policy is felt at every level in Sweden--from the individual departments or institutes to the Ministry of Education. At the department level, two student representatives are elected by the local association of students to sit on a board consisting of the professor and the teaching staff. The dominance of the professor is so great that only if he decides to listen need he be affected by the student (or other faculty)

advice; nonetheless, the mechanism and the opportunity for such contact and communication is established. The professors are divided into broad groups--such as the law faculty and the humanities faculty--and each of these groups has an Educational Committee whose membership consists of the chairman of the faculty (chosen from among the professors in the general area), three representatives of the teaching staff, three students representing local student unions, and a representative of the graduate assistants. The duties of this committee are described by the SFS (1965):

> The Educational Committee in each faculty has important duties such as the preparation of study plans and determination of the content of each subject taught by the faculty. It observes the procedure of examinations and checks on student progress in the different subjects [pp. 5-6].

The proposals and recommendations of the Educational Committees are subject to the approval of both the general faculty affected and also the Chancellor. These committees serve more than simply an advisory function, however, for they may frame the questions and set the discourse which gives substance and direction to educational policy.

In the last few years, the student union has cautiously tried to influence policy in realms that have previously been reserved to the professors. So far, this move has not resulted in any significant open antagonism, but as the students find that their suggestions are met with either success or failure, the results may be predictable. Success will feed the notion of the ability to effect change and thus act as a spur to bolder innovation, while

failure will help to identify the professors as the real enemies of reform. The battle lines will be drawn more clearly for the next thrust.

Two recent cases of the encroachment of the students into matters previously reserved only for the faculty may serve as illustration. In the past, positions for graduate teaching fellows and temporary lectureships were filled through appointments made by the professors (Högre Utbildning och Forskning, 1967-68). The number of temporary "lektors" is based solely upon the number of students enrolled and thus may fluctuate from year to year by institute. While a professor possessed full formal powers to make such appointments, he normally consulted with the existing faculty of the department in question. Now, as a matter of official policy, the SFS is demanding that such vacant posts be publicly announced so that a wider range of qualified applicants may compete for the positions. This is a cautious demand that will not really antagonize the professors, for it does not violate their right to hire and fire persons to these posts. Although no basic shift of rights is involved, however, the students are attempting to influence hiring practices. If successful, they will be encouraged to press for more significant reforms, and they say as much.

A second problem area where the student union has decided to lobby and influence educational policy on issues previously reserved to the faculty has been curriculum organization and, more specifically, interdisciplinary teaching and research. This involves

something of a student reaction against what the faculty has taken for granted--namely, specialization at the university. Students in Sweden have for the most part accepted the notion of university studies as specialized occupational training, but there is every indication that the new activists see interdisciplinary teaching efforts as a positive development which they should support. The immediate impetus for this concern is an isolated initiative which appeared in 1966 from a wing of the medical faculty at one of the universities; they presented a report to the government pointing out the advantages of an interdisciplinary teaching program in their institute. The national student union picked up the theme of the report and asked that the question be held up for a time so that a thorough general investigation could be made to determine the feasibility of more generic reforms for interdisciplinary teaching. A review of the situation is now taking place, and although there will be resistance from some of the faculties, it seems likely that many institutes will make changes that range from a token integrated course to more thoroughgoing curriculum revisions.

This is simply one of many examples in Swedish higher education where the ideology surrounding student participation in educational policy has resulted in the structuring of institutions that make possible such student participation and where the existence of such institutional student structures serves as its own implementation of such power. As long as Americans take seriously such theses as "the only right of students is the right to learn,"

the presumption will remain that they have no right to influence the nature of the learning experience--specifically, how, when, and what things should be taught. Indeed, the Swedish experience sheds some light on that subject, because the SFS has made an attempt to influence what is taught at the universities. Once structures are established for the furtherance of some interests, there will be resultant demands, pressures, and problems. For example, from the International Secretary of the SFS has come the suggestion that the Swedish universities might develop greater contacts with technologically underdeveloped countries by creating new teaching and research positions in social anthropology. These new positions would be designed specifically to increase the amount of substantive knowledge available and offered in Sweden about such countries.

Within the SFS, there is a group of students who are pressing for a greater student voice in the determination of the curriculum. The vision of these students is idealistic, but they are able to translate their requests into more moderate demands that the university become a place for the training of individuals for certain occupational roles. For example, concern for increased contact between, and aid to, technologically underdeveloped countries is translated into more acceptable academic demands for more non-European languages at the university, new courses that inform Swedish students of the political, economic, and cultural situations in these countries, and so forth. In fact, one of the primary themes of the student reformists concerns the exhortation that all education should be either occupationally- or goal-directed. Under this

banner they can raise all manner of claims about the various changes they would like to see in the organization and pursuit of education, and they can justify their claims in terms of its goal-related or occupational-related character.

The basic issue rephrased is whether or not the student voice is to be treated as a legitimate voice in a two- or a three-party accommodation of interests. We need not even raise a question about the reasonable content of student suggestions, for we change the issue when we say that students have the right to participate in educational policy decisions <u>if and when they are reasonable</u>. Such a statement is an equivocal concession, for it then becomes a matter for negotiation to determine when students are being reasonable--when it is decided they are not, their suggestions can be dismissed out of hand. The result is to give the students no more than advisory status in decisionmaking, and while this role is preferable to no role at all, it does not address the problem of the right of participation in any new way.

It is in the area of student housing, where things are so concrete and clear (buildings and their operation) that the comparative technique yields some answers about different interests, different functions, and different roles. As we have previously stated, a functional analysis, by positing that the function (of student housing) would be fulfilled (whether the fulfilling agent is the government, the faculty, the administration, or the students themselves) leads one away from concerns with how and what difference

it makes. In the analysis of a single society or culture, the best one can do is posit functional alternatives for speculative purposes. However, when we look at two different cultures where similar tasks are performed by different agents, empirical differences compel us to raise a question of whether it is legitimate to label those functions as the same function.

In Sweden, the function of providing student housing is in the hands of students. At each of the five universities, student unions determine everything from architectural design and floor-space allotment to coeducational corridor policy. Student housing is supported by government funds, but the students themselves retain decisionmaking authority at the highest level of what Americans would term administration. Swedish students make the rules which relate to personal and communal associations in the living units. As a policy matter, the local student unions usually assign one student to a room, and he shares a kitchen and a bath with from three to nine other students who live on the same corridor. (Sometimes the number to a corridor may be as high as eighteen, but this situation is very unusual except in some University of Stockholm dormitories.) There being no dean of students to act as the keeper of morality after classes, the unions have at their discretion (and sometimes use it) the assignment of corridors on a coeducational basis. One can easily see that, if career administrators were performing the function of assigning students, their desire to appease outside community attitudes (even in Sweden) would lead them to a different

kind of structuring in the housing situation. In the United States, one common view often held by administrators is that students must "learn to live together," and a common practice is to assign two students to a single bedroom. Perhaps if American students obtained control over student housing they would decide to assign more people to a room, or fewer, but in any case it is unlikely that their rationale for doing so would have anything to do with "learning to be good citizens." Such rhetoric reflects the interests of an individual administrator. It is important to note that the "function" (of student housing) may be performed in qualitatively different ways, depending upon what interest group performs the task.

The professional schools and institutes in Sweden, as elsewhere, train students for specific occupations. Swedish students who complete degree requirements in pharmacy, law, and social welfare move smoothly into the occupational world. At the universities, especially in the humanities, however, there is no clear connection between the pursuit of one's studies and preparation for an occupation. That was not true in nineteenth-century Europe, when the elitist system trained so few students (the sons of the nobility and the more affluent merchant class) that jobs awaited university graduates in the civil service. But with the breakdown of the elitists system and the mass influx of an expanding middle class, there has developed an overabundance of graduates with liberal arts education. Certification of such training no longer carries with it a guarantee of employment in an overburdened civil service

bureaucracy. Increasingly, students come to discover that they lack training for any occupation.

This development is worldwide, affecting every nation that has opened up its system of higher education to a rapidly developing middle class whose members view higher education for their sons and daughters as one of the badges of class membership. However, students in different nations have responded differently. Swedish students are far more practical in their responses than are their American counterparts.

The Swedish national student union (SFS) takes a rather strong position on the matter of goal-oriented education, by which is really meant occupation-oriented education. And while the SFS explicitly renounces a strict, narrow, and provincial training leading to a specific occupation, the union simultaneously calls for educational reform that will make the occupational connection far more precise than in the present arrangements. The union position may be briefly described:

Occupations, the union says, should be grouped into several classes, perhaps three or four. In each of these classes, the union argues, there should be a common core curriculum, which is broad and general, for the whole class. Subsequently, students would choose greater specialization leading to specific occupations in that class. Take, for example, administrative jobs (as a class of jobs) in a variety of spheres--from education, commerce and industry, government. The SFS urges the development of a common

curriculum of administrative theory and practice as prior training for later specialization in these fields. As further example, the SFS strongly objects to statistics being taught in a variety of ways in various fields; it asks for a general statistics sequence, with the occupation for which a student is being trained determining how far the student pursues the sequence.

More directly, the union takes the position that there should be specific courses for specific occupations, once the general curriculum has been completed. Among other things, it suggests that such courses deal with:

- Legal matters and the legal framework of the occupation. The rationale is that in order to work most effectively in an occupation, one should know the kinds of legal problems most likely to arise in the typical job problem. The student would study precedent cases on how such problems have been handled and decided.

- Particular substantive or content matters of the occupation, informed by someone who has been on the job. The SFS demands that there be more attention paid to practical problems in university training.

- Common problems of administrative and authority relationships in the occupation in question.

In contrast to those students in the United States who are the most vociferous advocates of educational reform, the Swedish student reformists mostly want a closer articulation between their studies and their proposed occupations. Here as in many other matters, the Swedish students and the government see things rather similarly. The Chancellor's Office is strongly supportive of those programs of reform that have as a consequence the production of

well-trained students to fit into the economy and the society. For example, the Chancellor is predictably responsive to the SFS request for more coordination between postgymnasium institutions--universities, technical schools, and institutes--particularly on such matters as transfer of credits and course standardization.

THE SWEDISH EXPERIENCE: SUMMARY

The Swedish experience with student participation in governance, both in student affairs and in larger educational policy, suggests several conclusions:

- There is little basis for the fear that the explicit conception of different interests for students (with the organization of their institutional authority) leads inevitably to anarchy and perpetual conflict.
- Student encroachment upon the territory of administrators and faculty does not necessarily bring with it a domino effect or a stampede of student power.
- The choice of which of the three parties--students, faculty, administration--controls an institution or a segment of life on the campus makes a significant difference in the way in which the institution performs or functions.

Unless we are willing to attribute the Swedish variation entirely to style, this last statement compels us to take seriously the proposition that a separate set of student interests exists.

There are some obvious problems involved with using the Swedish experience of student participation in university governance to illuminate the situation in the United States. Sweden is a small, homogeneous country with a long tradition of student autonomy at the universities. But Latin America, too, differs greatly from

the United States in its traditions and its university structure--and yet some educators seem to have little difficulty envisioning parallels of possible development.

The fact that countries are not perfect replicas of each other does not mean that what fails or succeeds in one country necessarily fails or succeeds in another. What is needed now is a careful analysis of the relevance to the American situation of various models of university governance. We can, at the least, begin a serious examination of instances where students possess "citizenship," to see what similarities and differences apply to the meaning of student acquisition of "citizenship" in the United States. We must attempt to extrapolate the kinds of structural implementation most suited to the American context.

THE OLD SYSTEM AND THE NEW UNIVERSITY REFORM

Governance at the Swedish universities has historically been the province of a very small part of a very small faculty, the professors. In the past, each professor held almost complete control over the structure of the governance mechanisms in his own institute. It was a decentralized system, and perhaps its most important characteristics were smallness, a tutorial relationship, and a sense of community and tradition. Enrollment was restricted to the upper social classes.

During the last two decades, the entire Swedish educational system has been subjected to dramatic reforms that have ended the highly selective screening system of the upper classes. While the

working and lower classes still do not attend the universities or other institutes of higher education in any appreciable number, the expanding enrollment of the middle class in Sweden has been geometric, astronomical, and explosive. Almost five hundred years old, tradition-bound Uppsala University saw its enrollment increase from less than 3,000 in 1947 to more than 15,000 in 1967, a short space of twenty years.

The changes in Swedish higher education were initiated and engineered by the left-liberal wing of the Social Democratic party, which has held power in Sweden during this entire period. The Social Democrats control the Ministry of Education, and in the educational reform of the early 1960s, they replaced the figurehead Chancellor of the Universities--a professor chosen from among professors--with a powerful civil servant who reviews and transforms all budget requests from the university institutes.

It can generally be said that the professors either have actively opposed these changes or have remained neutral in controversies about them. Active support for these reforms has been rare. More, professors have found themselves not only the isolated opponents of different groups at the university, but they have often had to face these groups in coalitions and alliances.

The Swedish student union (SFS) has usually aligned itself with the government and the Chancellory on matters that relate to change and reform. But not only are the students and the government in sympathy with each other, the nonprofessional faculty is

also opposed to the earlier system of control that gave professors so much power and authority. At the present time, however, these other faculty are quieter than the students about their opposition to the professors' control, because the professors still have considerable say in who is hired and fired and the junior and temporary faculty are in economically vulnerable and insecure positions. Nonetheless, the nonprofessional faculty constitute and provide a third force, a potentially important force at the university, that affects the ability and willingness of the government and the students to make further inroads on the firm control which the professors have traditionally exercised.

Despite the natural alliance that ordinarily prevails between the Swedish student union and the Chancellory against the professors, there are some notable exceptions where there is open conflict. One such case has developed around the problem of how to best speed up the process by which students obtain degree credit, receive their degrees, and leave the university. While it has been to the mutual interests of the student union and the Chancellor to attempt to move the professors to a more flexible position on the curriculum, the precise method and manner of the loosening up of the structure has been a point of considerable difference and conflict between all parties.

In 1965, the Swedish Parliament, concerned that the great increase in the number of students would necessitate a program of faster processing through the universities, decided that a fixed

plan of study, similar to the American pattern, should be introduced. The following year, Parliament directed the Ministry of Education and the Chancellor's Office to investigate alternate forms of fixed study plans. A study group, responsible to the Chancellor, was created, and it was committed to making recommendations after seeking out, digesting, and synthesizing the points of view of all parties. We have previously discussed this problem from the point of view of student union officials. (Chapter III); here it will be sufficient to note that the conflict was heightened because the SFS perceived that the new fixed study plan would be forced upon them too fast, without enough flexibility and without any escape routes. The student union argued that the Chancellor was not taking enough account of possible miscalculations and failures in the planning and execution of the program.

In the old system (which remained in effect until 1969), the student took a semester-long course for one unit ("betyg"). Six units were required for the equivalent of a bachelor's degree, and students often specialized in one field by taking as many as three units in that field. Any of these units may have had several different and distinct parts, sliced into one-month periods and set off by examinations. For example, the one-unit course in psychology might begin with a four-week session in statistics; at the end of that period, an examination would be given. In the next four-week session, there might be a general survey of personality theory, followed by an examination and so on. However, a student who failed

the first examination was permitted to continue his study for the second session. Many students, like some American students, did not study during the first weeks of a semester, and many failed the first session. Thus, while they should have been devoting full time to the second session, they would also be studying for the first session examination. The department was required to set up another examination for the student during the semester, and sometimes even a third. As a consequence, studies could pile up, and students were unable to devote full time to particular segments of a course.

Some professors complained, in the old system, but they were not permitted to tamper with the rigid pattern of examination and reexamination; the right of students to demand continual reexamination was written into the statutes. The professors argued that while the government was complaining about the time it took students to earn their degrees, it set up, at the same time, rigid structures which acted against the faster processing of students. The professors charged that the government rigidified the stages of a student's career, limiting his choice to study various subjects.

To replace the old system (one unit per semester, six units for the degree), a new system of units, more akin to the American pattern, was introduced. Each semester, the student would enroll for 20 units, with 120 units required for the degree. There are 35 fixed combinations of course work that lead to a degree, and the entering student must choose one of these 35 degree paths. Each of these combinations includes a course of study in at least two fields,

and the courses must be taken in a definite order. Let us take, as an example, a student who enrolls in a study combination of mathematics and physics. In the Chancellor's proposal, if the student can manage no more than 30 units in one year (the normal number is 40), he flunks out and must start the whole process again from the beginning. If, at a second trial, 40 units are not obtained in the three succeeding semesters, the student cannot pursue this course of study again. If the student is successful in the first year and completes his 40 units of mathematics, he will continue upon the fixed path to physics in the second year. In a similar fashion, if the student is successful in obtaining the additional 40 units, he is then allowed certain leeway in choosing electives (within certain limits) for his last 40 units. He may decide to continue to specialize in physics or mathematics, or he may choose from other fields. While fixed study plans have been introduced at each of the five universities, there has been some variation between universities, where certain plans or combinations have been either emphasized or offered as options.

EXPERIMENTS WITH STUDENT PARTICIPATION AT THE DEPARTMENT LEVEL

We have seen that the national student union and its local chapters at the five universities exercise considerable influence on the direction of university policy at its highest levels. The SFS makes its influence felt on everything from passage of bills in the Swedish Parliament to budgetary allocations on research and teaching areas. Nonetheless, the professors still exercise remark-

able authority in the day-to-day operation of the institutes and at the local level of educational activity where students come into their most direct contact with the university.

The Chancellor has recently made a direct challenge to the autocratic controls of the professors by forcing many departments to experiment with various forms of student participation in departmental (institute) decisionmaking. This has been accomplished by giving the University Councils at the various universities specific guidelines for instituting experimentation and reform. The University Council consists of the university president (called "Rektor Magnificus"), the elected professors of the various faculties (i.e., social science, physical science, humanities, etc.), and an administrator placed on the Council by the Chancellor. Through the University Councils, the Chancellor has ordered the universities to begin experimentation with student participation at the local departmental level. Directives were given to the universities at Lund (to 24 departments), Umeå (to 14 departments), Stockholm (to eight departments), Uppsala, and Gothenburg. For the purpose of making controlled comparisons, the University Councils were told to leave some departments without experimentation to serve as study control groups. The Chancellor also created a Joint Advisory Board, directly responsible to the University Council, at each university. On this board sit three students, three representatives from the university unions (workers and white-collar and academic-administrator unions), and three members of the University Council.

Instead of smashing old structures, the Chancellor has developed the strategy of creating new parallel structures. He then delegates authority to these new structures, permitting the older ones to die slow deaths either from misuse or from being relegated to dealing with questions of less significance for reform or change. For example, the old decisionmaking body for the divisions, schools, or groups of academic disciplines was the Faculty Council which consisted only of the professors who were, typically, the chairmen of their departments. Now the Chancellor has created a Departmental Education Board to function alongside the Faculty Council, delegating to it moderate degrees of authority in such matters as student stipends, student advising, and--significantly--innovations in the content and organization of the curriculum. While the Faculty Council continues to make decisions about who will be employed as researchers (docents) and about the level of performance of Ph.D. candidates, it has no delegation of authority on matters of curriculum change. When we look at the composition of these new Departmental Education Boards, it is not surprising to find that student representation is substantial, often varying from one-third to one-half.

Surely the most significant development of recent years in the Chancellor's attempt to introduce student participation into local departmental decisionmaking is his directive requiring that a select number of departments throughout the university system experiment with models of student participation. Instead of leav-

ing the kind and amount of experimentation up to the institutes, the Chancellor's Office has specified particular models. Some latitude has been given, however, to the local University Council--and through it, to the Departmental Education Board and the Joint Advisory Board--for the selection of a particular model.

MODELS OF STUDENT PARTICIPATION

In all models of student participation, students comprise approximately half of the new decisionmaking bodies. In some models, the students have a slight edge of two votes; in some, exactly fifty per cent; and in others, a two-vote deficit. The student union (SFS) designates the manner in which the student representatives are selected. Further, in all models, representatives from the technical and administrative staffs must also be among the members. An odd number of members, from nine to seventeen, has been recommended for breaking possible deadlocks.

One model includes the creation of a Departmental Education Board where decisionmaking is restricted to matters of curriculum development and innovation. All other matters are handled in the traditional manner--i.e., with the professor in charge exercising discretionary authority. A second model created a Departmental Education Board to deal with a large variety of matters extending beyond curriculum development, reaching even as far as grievence procedures for students who flunk out. In this model, however, matters like academic appointments and specific assignments of instructors to courses are again left to the professor. But there is a

third model in which the new Departmental Education Board has decisionmaking authority even in these delicate areas (Universitetskanslersämbetet Dnr 7897/69, April 13, 1970; Universitetsförvaltningen, Juridiska sectionen, Byrädirektör A Ch Francke, KW, Stockholms Universitet, June 26, 1970). It is obviously this third model which is the most controversial; it will be subject to the closest scrutiny as well as to partisan and ideological interpretation and attack.

It will be another year before the results of these experiments are reported to the Chancellor, the Ministry of Education, and ultimately to the Swedish Parliament.

We have described the newly created Departmental Education Board as a device of the Chancellor's Office for placing a parallel structure next to the old Faculty Council. To illustrate the composition of these boards, let us look at Departmental Education Boards at Stockholm University (Figure 2).

	Representatives from University Council	Non-tenured Instructors and Teaching Assistants	SFS Representatives	Technical and Administrative Personnel
Law School	3	2	5	-
History-Philosophy	4	2	6	-
Languages	4	2	4	1
Mathematics-Physical Sciences	5	2	5	1

Fig. 2. Composition of several Departmental Education Boards of Stockholm University.

As an example of how these boards operate, let us look also at the way in which the History-Philosophy board chose a model of student participation for the Philosophy Department at Stockholm University. Under the old system there were three philosophy departments—general philosophy, practical philosophy, and theoretical philosophy—with three professors; each of these professors was the sole responsible authority in his department. The new decisionmaking body, created by the Departmental Education Board, is a nineteen-member departmental board, where eight students sit with full voting power (with one minor exception). The faculty has nine positions, composed of the three professors with two nontenured faculty from each of the three former departments. It will be recalled from our earlier discussion of the social role of the nontenured faculty that this group has considerable potential for swinging more towards the students and the Chancellor than toward the professors on a number of issues of reform and change.

The SFS oversee the election of student participants. They include two students from general philosophy and an advanced, an intermediate, and a beginning student in each of the two categories of theoretical and practical philosophy. In questions dealing with research, only advanced students have voting power, but this is the only area of selective disenfranchisement. The scope of the authority of this new departmental board is very broad, as it is charged

to deal with the content and organization of the curriculum, departmental policy on the administration of examinations, the use of facilities and equipment, and the scheduling of instruction.

Because some of these experiments with student participation began as late as the fall of 1970, it is too early to make a judgment as to their success or failure. In the next two or three years, our understanding of the role of student participation in governance will be enhanced if research is directed towards an analysis of the outcomes of the use of these models.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Several years ago, John Horton (1966) wrote a critique of various approaches to the study of social issues and problems. He was particularly concerned with the differences in approach of those social scientists who use a "consensus model" as opposed to those who use a "conflict model." The consensus model assumes that various parties in a community have common interests and shared values, that the task for analysis is to show the complementary character of social life and the mutually reinforcing qualities of interdependence and cooperation. In such an approach, dissidents and deviants are the aberrant individual bad guys who interrupt what would otherwise be a harmonious community. The conflict model, however, assumes that while various parties in a community may share values, the differences in their positions in the social and political order and their corresponding differences in power make for a continual tension and competition--either in the maintenance of power and privilege or in their extension, redistribution and overthrow. The central task of analysis is to reveal those tensions and to explain conflict as a natural and

inevitable feature of the system of social relations in the community. In such an approach, dissidents and deviants are not cast as wayward individuals, but as a part of a naturally emergent collectivity. Such individuals may then be seen as representative of either a vanguard of a movement or as those who articulate the interests of a larger conflicting segment of the community.

Horton concluded that there was a near universal neglect by social scientists of a conflict model and that this neglect blinded them to important social and political patterns of the oppressed and exploited. In a review of Horton's critique, Robin Williams (1966) chided Horton for not seeing the "obvious"--that social life is not to be explained by consensus or conflict, but by a delicate combination of both. While there can be little disagreement with Williams' idea of a delicate balance, we must know <u>how</u> consensus and conflict are balanced if we are to better understand the problem. More, we must determine what the consequences are when the amounts of consensus and conflict vary.

The study of higher education is also subject to a debate about which of these two models should prevail, not only in the minds of social science observers but also in the eyes of participants in higher education. One of the major differences between the Swedish and American patterns in higher education is the degree to which the conflict versus the consensus model prevails. In Sweden, a conflict of interest is explicitly acknowledged. Moreover, there are concomitant structures for accommodating that conflict of interest. In contrast,

participants and observers in higher education in the United States have typically denied a conflict of interest between faculty, students, and administration (and society?), choosing instead a rhetoric of common or communal interests. Whether as a direct consequence or not, it has also been true that universities in the United States have not erected structures where systematic interest differences between the various parties might have been addressed and resolved within a framework of the legitimate ongoing operations of the institution.

During the 1960s, universities in the United States experienced open conflict in a variety of forms of student protest. It is easy to agree with those many observers who have said that the major impetus for these protests was student objection to governmental policy, foreign and domestic. But I think it is possible to gain a greater understanding of the particular nature and form of these protests by viewing them as the direct result of the refusal of American universities to admit to a conflict of interest and to set up structures within which the combatants could address interest conflicts. American student protest became increasingly strident (culminating in open guerrilla fighting and several deaths) not only because students objected to foreign militarism in Southeast Asia and to domestic racism, but also because students began to sense the futility of protest. Not only did military defense spending increase until it consumed an enormous proportion of the national budget and not only did the government back away from federal support programs fighting racism, but on the campuses themselves some administrators and faculty took increasingly

hard lines on educational reforms and curriculum change--as could be seen in their responses to attempts to obtain new criteria for black studies programs and to recruit faculty from the Third World.

Student protest in the United States is inevitable, but it has become violent partly because American higher education has refused to acknowledge that conflict of interest naturally exists and has refused to produce structural mechanisms for accommodating it. Yet, it is insufficient to merely acknowledge interest differences and it is unworkable to set up structures which do not give students an independent base (economic and political) to pursue their interests as citizens.

Let us take the example of the creation of a unicameral legislature at the University of New Hampshire in 1969-70. Here we have the appearance of student involvement in the governance of the university. The separation of parties at the university into the three components of students, faculty, and administration is acknowledged formally, since each of the three parties has one-third representation in the legislative body, the senate. As in most other American universities, final authority rests with a board of trustees. The senate has only advisory powers.

Two brief illustrations from the University of New Hampshire situation will indicate the nature of the problems that American students face when they confront the administration, on the one hand, and the faculty, on the other, in their quest for "citizenship" and for participation in decisions of control in the university.

First, there was a student confrontation with the administration over an issue formally nullifying in loco parentis. In the spring of 1970 there was, in effect, absence of control in regulating the hours students must spend in the university dormitories. However, there remained, officially, formal rules which designated specific hours when women had to be in their rooms, and some students feared that these rules might be used selectively and politically. The students acted, through the university tripartite but unicameral senate, to have these rules officially eradicated. They argued that eradication would only be public acknowledgement of private reality; it would simply make formal what was already a common informal practice (no enforcement of hours). The students went "through procedures" or "ordinary channels." After a full and open debate in the senate, they persuaded the body to adopt, in a democratic vote, the formal position of the elimination of hours.

The board of trustees, however, reversed the decision made by the senate and reinstated the formal hours. The action of the board made a mockery of the notion of student participation in governance. It is of little consequence that the board's formal rationale for the reversal was that the students should have submitted a more comprehensive program for student responsibility in extracurricular matters. The point is simply that the board chose to exercise its absolute legal authority to reverse a decision reached by legitimate democratic process in a unicameral body of students, faculty, and local administrators. One might well ask, then: Where is student recourse?

But lest there be some doubt that American students and faculty are not natural allies in any fundamental way, the next example of student-faculty conflict in New Hampshire over "faculty prerogatives" should prove illuminating to any who would hold that the alliance of American students and faculty is anything but tenuous. A marginal faculty member in the Political Science Department, who was to be let go at the end of the academic term, was scheduled to teach a course on the subject of black power during the spring quarter of 1970. The university registrar, who formally controls such matters, allocated ten class cards for the course, thereby limiting enrollment to ten students. But more than 200 students appeared on registration day, all demanding entry into the course. The 200 students took their grievance directly to the senate, where they held a sit-in and refused to budge until the matter was resolved. They insisted that the professor should be permitted to teach another section of the course and that enrollment should be increased.

The president of the university, who sits in the senate, rose to state a proposal for resolution of the conflict. He said that he would permit the executive council of the senate to pick an arbitration board to come up with a solution, and that he would abide by the terms of that solution. The senate endorsed this procedure.

By this action the president revealed many things about the actual location of authority. First, it was clear that he, in his role as president, was delegating the authority and that he chose to delegate it. That is, the senate as a body had no such authority and

made no claim to it. Second, by agreeing in advance to be bound by the recommendations of a senate arbitration board which was not yet formed, the president was actually delegating authority to the senate apparatus.

The chairman of the Political Science Department objected to this development, for he saw the possibility of a settlement which would require expansion of the curriculum in his department--and it would be an expansion resulting from a decision made outside the control of his department. He considered such a decision to be an encroachment upon the long-enjoyed prerogatives of the faculty.

Indeed, when the arbitration board made its recommendation, it did commit the department to add sections to the course and to increase enrollment. In a remarkable and unprecendented display of faculty unity, the chairmen of all of the seventeen departments located in the liberal arts college submitted their resignations in sympathy with their violated colleague and in protest against encroachment of outside authority.

The student leaders immediately called for the administration to accept the resignations, but action was stalled and then made unnecessary when a compromise was reached. An additional section of the course was taught, but it was given in the University Extension. Students were allowed, however, to take the course as a regular course in the curriculum.

There are implications in this case for the future development of relationships between American faculty and students. It suggests

that students who want to see curriculum reform will find themselves in a situation resembling that of Swedish students, insofar as potential alliance is concerned. That is, students and the administration may be more likely to see things similarly than are students and the faculty, especially in this area. But the similarity between the positions of Swedish and American students ends when we come to the question of power, for American students are unorganized and fragmented, and they are recipients of delegated authority that can be revoked at any time. Further, the potential for an alliance with the administration and the trustees is only that--a potential--for the substantive political differences are sufficient to prevent anything more, and the past political battles between the two groups probably have been so acrimonious that mutual mistrust is likely to prevail and mitigate any effective attempt to counter traditional faculty power. As we have pointed out, the substantive politics (external to the university) of the faculty is closer to that of the students than to that of the administration. There are many indications, however, that students will increasingly come to see the faculty and the administration in alliance over matters that are more basic than curriculum reform or women's dormitory hours. Faculty and administrators have a common interest in the preservation of certain conditions and institutions in American society, while activist students believe that these conditions and institutions sustain inequality and injustice.

Many observers of the American student scene have noted how

sporadic and enigmatic are American students' attempts at collective social and political expression of their grievances. Even at the most highly politicized universities in the United States, there is an almost predictable pattern of peaks of political excitement and activity, which are followed by long periods of quiescence, apparent apathy, and disengagement from public expression of an interest in "citizenship" participation. At no time has this situation been more dramatically illustrated than in the contrasts between the spring of 1970--with the demonstrations that followed the American invasion of Cambodia and the subsequent murders at Kent State and Jackson--and the fall of 1970--when apparently normal activity returned to the universities. For an outsider listening to the fiery rhetoric and viewing the visceral passions of May and June of 1970, the inevitable outcome extrapolated to the months of October and November would be massive student protests, concerted political action for the peace movement, and a general standstill at the universities. Yet, when the fall semester began, there was not even a visible heightened engagement in traditional work in electoral politics; there was no dramatic increase in such activity over other election years.

In my analysis in this book, I have argued that the primary reason for the inability of students in the United States to sustain collective action has been their inability to establish their own independently sustained organization. The Swedish student union provides an excellent model for American students--but only if it is thoughtfully imported and then carefully transplanted and adapted

to the American situation. A national student union like the SFS, transferred exactly, would be unworkable in the United States. There is such heterogeneity in American universities and colleges, with a corresponding heterogeneity of issues and problems, that it would be impossible to develop a single organization to encompass the different interests. A much more plausible development would be a state or regional unionism or, in some instances, metropolitan union federation in urban centers like New York and Chicago. But the geographical boundaries of a federation of local unions is less important than the economic independence of these unions. If there is one lesson to be learned from the Swedish and American comparative experience with student organization, it is that the organization must be funded directly and independently if it is to have any significant political independence.

There are many barriers to the establishment of such economic independence of an American student union. For one thing, we are unlikely to see any federal or state legislation requiring student fees for union membership, especially at this point in history. Most legislators vote in educational matters as if they believed that universities should be punished financially because of campus unrest. Legislators want administrators to have more political control over students, not less. Thus, a more realistic appraisal of the situation would require that American students begin with a voluntary unionism. At an urban center, for instance, an effective appeal might convince twenty to thirty percent of the students that they should pay a small

membership fee (perhaps ten dollars a year) to direct the union leadership to particular grievances. The voluntary union could then begin to lobby. Over time, perhaps in five to ten years, a lobby might successfully affect the legislative process and produce a situation in publicly supported institutions that more closely approximates the Swedish institution of the closed shop. At that point, students would have acquired a voice in bills that affect higher education. But I am not hopeful about such a development. There are many indications that American students lean far more heavily in the direction of the private or individual Third World, averting political, collective, and organized social action as an intrinsic evil.

A modest service to American students would be a demonstration that other students in other places can better manage their affairs and obtain greater autonomy--precisely because they engage in collective, social, and political action. Alongside my analysis of some of the conceptual and empirical problems in comparative higher education, that must be counted as the most potentially substantial justification for this comparative study.

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